

Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

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CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
COUNCIL	304
NOTICES AND NOMINATION FORM	305
THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS. BY ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD WEBB, K.C.M.G., C.B.	307
THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND THE TRANS- BORDER COUNTRY. BY PROFESSOR J. COATMAN	335
CHINA: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HER TRANSPORT PROBLEMS. BY S. F. MAYERS	349
THE DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER. BY A. F. ALGIE	359
WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORI- ALITY WILL MEAN. BY SIR HARRY FOX, K.B.E.	384
CHINESE BRONZES. BY W. PERCEVAL YETTS	399
TURKESTAN AND THE SOVIET REGIME	403
ANTIQUITIES AND THEIR CONSERVATION IN PERSIA	421
THE KHYBER PASS. BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. E. CROCKER, C.M.G., D.S.O.	425
REVIEWS—	
LA SUPPRESSION DES CAPITU- LATIONS EN PERSE	431
CONFLICT: ANGORA TO AF- GHANISTAN	438
ALARMS AND EXCURSIONS IN ARABIA	435
HISTORY OF PALESTINE	439
ASIA'S TREMING MILLIONS	440
INDIAN INDUSTRY	442
INDIA ON THE BRINK	443
WITH MYSTICS AND MAGICIANS IN TIBET	445
THE ROAD TO THE GREY PANIR	449
THROUGH THE CAUCASUS TO THE VOLGA	450
UNVEILED	455
GLIMPSES OF HIGH POLITICS	457
SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHANI	458
CLIVE	459
BURTON	460
BRITMIS	461
CYCLISTS ROUND THE WORLD	462
INDIA'S RELIGION OF GRACE	463
BUDDHISM IN INDIA, CEYLON	464
CHINA AND JAPAN	465
LA MEE ROUGE	466
ZANZIBAR	467
LA PERSE AU CONTACT DE L'OCIDENT	468
THE RED MEN OF NIOH	469
THE TARIM BASIN AND TAKLA-	470
MAKAN DESERT	471
JAPAN'S POPULATION	472
A HISTORY OF CHINA	473
TOURMENTS SUB	474
TAN	475
OBITUARY: GENERAL SIR RALEIGH EGTON; DR. EMIL TRINKLER	477
NOTES	480

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Sensible of the greater dignity and importance which this title gives us, the Council are anxious to mark the occasion by increasing the membership (at present over 1,400) to 2,000, and thus to enlarge the influence and scope of the Society.

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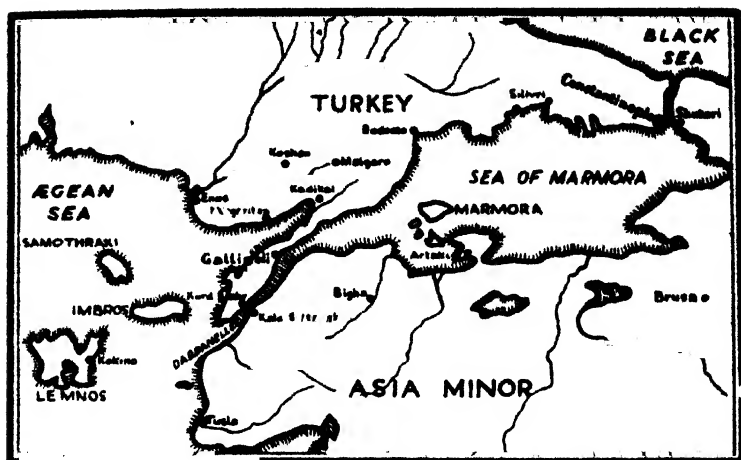
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THE PROBLEM OF THE STRAITS.

By ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD WEBB, K.C.M.G., C.B.



At the Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society, held at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, on Wednesday, June 10, 1931, a paper on "The Problem of the Straits" was read by Admiral Sir Richard Webb.

The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., in the chair.

IN approaching this subject one is at once struck by the very far-reaching nature of the problem. Something far more than a mere passage of the ships through a natural canal is involved, including, as it does, the strategic security and the economic welfare of a large portion of Europe and Asia.

For if we look at a map of Eurasia we see that there is a plateau with a rim of mountains north and south running from the Carpathians in Europe to the western limits of China, whence the northern mountain chain swings up to the Behring Straits and the southern down into Malaya, separating, isolating China from either India or Siberia.

The mountains that rim the plateau east and west, north and south, are important ones of the Old World. The plateaux between them afford easy passage east and west, except in Armenia and the Pamirs, though possible even there; but passage north and south over the rims is difficult. The plateau consists in the Balkans (lying at sea level) in Europe; in Asia it comprises Asia Minor (3,000 feet), Armenia (6,000-7,000 feet), Persia (4,000 feet), Afghanistan, Pamirs (14,000 feet), Tibet (10,000 feet), and Chinese Turkestan (5,000 feet)—a covered way

between Europe and Asia, protected north and south by mountains, and independent, as it were, of sea power. There is just one break in this immense plateau system—the Dardanelles.

North of this plateau and mountain system—this roof garden, as it has been termed—and extending from the plains of France through Germany to Poland, Russia, Siberia, right up to the Pacific, lie steppe and plain (with minor exceptions), bordered with ice in the Baltic and White Sea, ice along the north, and ice in the North Pacific. Thus, today, Russia, flanked on the west by Germany and Poland, and on the south by the "roof garden" with its high rims, seeks unfettered access to the Seven Seas (for tropical raw material and world trade), perhaps unconsciously now, but consciously in the past. *But the Turk at Constantinople bars the way.* This is, in brief, the age-long problem of the Straits.

Early History.

Going back to earliest times, we see what importance the ancients attached to the waterway connecting the fertile basin of the Danube and the rich plains of what is now Southern Russia, on the one hand, with the rest of the then-known world, situated round the shores of the Mediterranean, on the other.

It was no accident which resulted in the selection of the site of Troy as the sentry-box of the guardian of the Straits. Traces of no fewer than nine successive settlements have been found, the earliest going back to the Bronze Age. All these settlements on the hill overlooking the entrance to the Straits undoubtedly had as their object the control of the rich trade passing between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

It is the sixth city of the series which is generally identified as King Priam's Troy, and it is easy to imagine the Greeks, the great sea-traders of that day, finding some such excuse as the Helen legend to pick a quarrel with the city and so shake off the stranglehold on their Black Sea trade.

The ninth city seems to have fallen into ruins about the beginning of the Christian era. The intervening centuries saw an ebb and flow of nations and armies through and across the Straits.

Meanwhile, in the seventh century B.C., the city of Byzantium had been founded by the Megarians on the western shore of the Bosphorus; it suffered many vicissitudes until, in A.D. 330, Constantine the Great, realizing the impossibility of administering the vast Roman Empire from one fixed centre, and realizing, also, the immense possibilities of the situation both in peace and war, selected it as his eastern capital and renamed it Constantinople.

But the fall of the Roman Empire and the gradual spread of the Osmanli power changed the whole aspect. And so, by the seventeenth century, we find that the Ottoman Empire contained not only the

Dardanelles and Bosphorus, but the whole coast and basin of the Black Sea. The Straits were thus purely an inland water of the Ottoman Empire, and, down to the latter part of the eighteenth century, entrance into the Black Sea was denied to the ships of any nation other than Turkey. Then came the capitulations, by which ships of certain countries, including England, France and Venice, were allowed to come up the Dardanelles as far as Constantinople, but never through the Bosphorus.

Coming of Russia.

In 1700, when the Russians had penetrated to Azov and a Russian Black Sea fleet had been formed, application was made to the Sultan to open the Black Sea to Russian commerce. But Turkey took a serious view of it, and replied that "when foreign ships obtain the right of sailing freely on this sea, the end of the Ottoman Empire will have sounded."^{*}

Seventy years later Russia had greatly extended her territory along the Black Sea coast, and Turkey found herself compelled to concede the right of navigation, not only in the Black Sea, but also through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, similar concessions to other maritime countries inevitably followed.

The Treaty of Paris in 1856 established the principle of free navigation for all merchant vessels, but, none the less, right down to 1914 the Porte always maintained its sovereignty by the formality of granting a separate firman for each vessel which passes the Dardanelles.

But the situation as regards men-of-war is on altogether a different footing. "Although essentially a question of naval strategy, it was, for more than a hundred years, to be one of the pivots on which the policy of the Great Powers depended. More and more Turkey herself became merely a pawn in the game; the protagonists were Russia, Austria . . . and England."[†]

Russia, from very early times, has seen clearly that free passage for her ships of war could only be permanently secured if she herself had control over the Straits, and the attainment of this control has, up to the coming of Bolshevism, always been the ultimate object of her policy. In the days of Catherine II., Russia was encouraged by that monarch to regard herself as the liberator of the Orthodox Church, her rôle being to free Constantine's city and church from the grip of the infidel. Turkey was to be partitioned, Russia taking the Straits, and France, Egypt; England—the interloper—being excluded. Our position in India and the Levant was thus threatened, and so it is easy to see why Pitt laid down the principle that the maintenance of the Turkish Empire was a British interest.

It was the threat by Napoleon in later years to our position in India

^{*} "Studies in Diplomatic History," Headlam Morley, p. 216.

[†] *Ibid.*, p. 219.

that brought about a strange coalition in 1789. Russia had allied herself with Turkey so as to prevent France from seizing the Straits. To that alliance Great Britain joined herself. But it was short-lived; Russia's naval activities in the Mediterranean on the side of her new-found allies created profound distrust in England. Friction ensued and, as a result, Russia in 1801 transferred her alliance to Napoleon. But the assassination of the Tzar Paul in the same year brought about a reconsideration of the whole question, and the new Tzar, Alexander, laid it down as "one of the fundamental principles of my political system to contribute in every way to preserve the Empire of Turkey, the weakness and bad administration of which constitute valuable guarantees of security."

This did not, of course, mean that Russia renounced her claim to Constantinople, but merely that she meant to bide her time until a more favourable occasion, meanwhile adopting the well-known political expedient of maintaining a weak State on her frontier instead of annexing it.

But this meant trouble. Should Turkey shake off her "sickness," or, worse still, should some other Power acquire influence over her, Russia would have to intervene by force of arms.

Meanwhile, the Peace of Amiens, although it left England supreme in the Mediterranean, was giving Napoleon breathing space. Three factors dominated all others. India, the ultimate goal of Napoleon's Oriental policy, the Levant and Egypt, and Constantinople and the Straits. Consequently, when he endeavoured to enlist Russia on his side he failed because he refused to bribe her with the Straits. Russia's immediate objective was Malta and predominance in the Levant. This could only be reached by the Straits, and accordingly in 1805 she negotiated a treaty with Turkey embodying the two essential points of Russian policy - viz., the closing of the Black Sea to all ships of war, and the opening of the Straits to those of Russia.

In the upshot, Russia joined the coalition against Napoleon; the latter thereupon induced Turkey to close the Straits to Russian ships, and Russia accordingly declared war on Turkey.

Here was indeed a golden opportunity of solving once and for all the question of the partition of Turkey and establishing the freedom of the Straits. England was the dominant sea-power in the Mediterranean, and in 1807 Admiral Duckworth was sent by Collingwood to force the Dardanelles, sink the Turkish fleet, and dictate terms off the Golden Horn.

It was Copenhagen over again, but, alas! there was no Nelson. Vacillation and delay took the place of resolute and immediate action; nothing was accomplished, and the British fleet ingloriously withdrew, receiving a severe hammering from the Dardanelles forts as it passed out.

But the European kaleidoscope again changed. Russia in 1808 allied herself to Napoleon, but the two could not agree about Turkey. Russia wanted not only Constantinople but also the complete control of the Straits. This was an impossible condition for the French, who visualized a Russian threat to Toulon. So Turkey turned once more to England, the outcome being, a treaty, in 1809, of great importance. Hitherto Turkey had exercised her unfettered discretion in allowing or forbidding to ships the passage of the Straits; now it was admitted by Turkey in the treaty that, while she retained the right to close the Straits, she gave up the free right to open them.

This treaty was the only permanent result of the Napoleonic struggle so far as Turkey was concerned. All Russia's efforts had failed: Turkey was intact, and Great Britain had secured the closing of the Straits against Russia.* Consequently, the Russian fleet which participated with ours at the battle of Navarino was the Baltic and not the Black Sea fleet.

Russia's next chance came in 1833 with the revolt of Mehmet Ali: she sent a fleet and an army to protect the capital from falling into the hands of the rebellious Pasha. When the threat passed and the Russian forces withdrew, Russia concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Turkey whereby she secured sole and exclusive right to send her ships of war through the Straits.

But this was too much for the other Powers to put up with. Consequently in 1840 a Quadruple Alliance was arrived at between Turkey, Russia, England and Austria, whereby Turkey was guaranteed protection against Mehmet Ali should he prove troublesome; in the following year a Convention of the Straits was signed by the same Powers with the addition of France, whereby Turkey reaffirmed the principle of prohibition for ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits, the Sultan reserving the right to deliver firmans of passage for "light vessels under flag of war." This Convention, with certain modifications in 1856 and 1871, has remained in force ever since.

By the Treaty of Paris, which followed the Crimean War, the Black Sea was neutralized; it was thrown open to all merchantmen, but was forbidden to men-of-war of all nations, only Turkey and Russia being allowed to keep a few small vessels for coastguard duties: and it was declared that neither Turkey nor Russia would establish or maintain any "military-maritime" arsenal. This, of course, did not apply to Constantinople itself.

The position was an intolerable one for Russia. Her commerce and her coasts were at the mercy of Turkey, who could, and did, maintain a strong fleet in the Marmora, the third strongest—on paper—in the world.†

* "Studies in Diplomatic History," p. 225.

† "The Question of the Straits," by P. P. Graves, p. 120.

But the war of 1870 gave Russia yet another chance. She denounced the Treaty of Paris, and Europe was too pre-occupied to do more than protest. In the upshot, Russia was allowed to create a Black Sea fleet, while the Sultan was allowed, at his discretion, to open the Straits in time of peace to vessels of war of friendly or allied Powers.

It is interesting to note that that far-seeing statesman, Lord Salisbury, who had previously opined that in backing Turkey in the Crimean War we had "put our money on the wrong horse," had, when Foreign Secretary in 1878, told Lord Beaconsfield that he would be glad if the Straits could be declared as open as the Sound. "The exclusion of Russia from the Mediterranean," he said, "is not so great a gain to us as the loss resulting from our exclusion from the Black Sea, because we are much the strongest as a naval power."* This was the lesson of the Crimean War, but it was never fully learnt.

The intervening years before the Great War saw several important developments. In the first place the establishment of Roumania and Bulgaria on the shores of the Black Sea closed the era of purely Russo-Turkish interest in the navigation of its waters. Secondly, the naval situation in the Eastern Mediterranean had profoundly changed with the opening of the Suez Canal and our occupation of Cyprus and Egypt—a change vitally affecting both Russia and Turkey. And thirdly, our influence in Turkey had declined as that of Germany had increased.

The first point need not detain us now. But as regards the second point, Russia felt that the balance of power had seriously changed to her detriment. "It was impossible," the Russian Ambassador had said in 1882, "that Russia should consent to be shut up in the Black Sea, inasmuch as the opening of the Suez Canal had completely altered the whole aspect of the case, and rendered it absolutely necessary for Russia to insist upon an immediate transfer from the Black Sea to her Pacific possessions."† And the situation was still further complicated by the creation in 1878 of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, which wore the mercantile flag in time of peace, and was therefore free to use the Straits, but whose crews were subject to naval discipline, two officers at least in each ship holding the Tzar's commission. This came to a head during the Russo-Japanese War, when two volunteer ships passed through the Straits and the Suez Canal as merchantmen; on arrival in the Gulf of Suez they assumed the character of ships of war and proceeded to seize several ships alleged to be carrying contraband. Strong protests followed, the commissions were revoked, and reparations were eventually made.

As regards the possible passage of the Black Sea fleet to join Admiral Rodjestvensky, there was considerable anxiety on our part as Japan's ally, and there can be little doubt that we should have stopped their

* "Life of Lord Salisbury," vol. ii., p. 391.

† "Studies in Diplomatic History," p. 238.

passage through the Suez Canal; but Russia realized the situation and the attempt was not made.

The final pre-war move, so far as Russia was concerned, came in 1912, when, in consequence of the formation of the Triple Entente, it was suggested by Russia that the support of her fleet in the Mediterranean might be of great use to England and France. However, nothing came of it before the outbreak of war. This is largely accounted for by the fact, as recorded by the Russian Ambassador, M. Tcharykow, that "the Triple Entente at that time did not extend to the Near East." Each country was, he tells us, pursuing its own policy in Constantinople. France was trying to seize control of the Turkish finances, England concentrated on the junction of the Bagdad Railway with the Persian Gulf, while Russia was specially interested in railway construction in Asia Minor and—as always—the opening of the Straits to Russian men-of-war.

A golden chance of improving Russo-Turkish relations was lost in 1910, when the Tzar's proposed visit to Constantinople en route to Italy to return the visit of the King of Italy was cancelled, the Tzar—much against his will—proceeding by another route. This was due to certain reactionary influences, and was a great disappointment to the Ottoman Government. "There can be little doubt," says M. Tcharykow, "that such a visit would have not only laid a solid foundation for the predominance of the Entente in Constantinople, but would have prevented Turkey from joining Germany in the Great War."

However, that was not to be; and so it gradually came about, as the accumulation of many causes, that German influence increased, while that of England and the other Entente Powers declined, and the old fear of Russia revived in Turkish minds. As one Turkish officer put it: "You have a very fine fleet, but it will not keep a Russian army out of Erzeroum . . . the fate of Erzeroum may be decided by a great battle in Poland. . . . In the Balkans we must rely on Austria; while she is the ally of Germany the Germans will see she does not assist the Balkan States against us."† This remark as regards the fleet found an echo in later times when Mustapha Kemal was reported to have said, in reply to a question as to why he shifted his capital to Angora, "British battleships are very powerful, but they can't move on wheels."

Germany's gaze was fixed eastward. "Drang nach Osten" had a wealth of meaning, and Turkey was the bridge from Europe to the vast possibilities of an Asiatic Empire. Germany, therefore, strained every nerve to win Turkey's friendship, profiting by our unpopularity due largely to our occupation of Egypt and Cyprus. The Kaiser's various moves need not be recounted in full, ranging, as they did, from a

* "Glimpses of High Politics," p. 274.

† "The Question of the Straits," by P. P. Graves, p. 130.

spectacular demonstration on the Mount of Olives to a German Military Mission under that able officer, General Liman von Sanders, and his subsequent appointment to command the Turkish forces in Constantinople, including the forts of the Bosphorus.

Meanwhile Turkey herself was changing. The old decrepit Turkey, on which Russia set so much store, was passing away, and was being transformed under various influences, such as the Young Turk movement, guided by Talaat and Enver, into a new and alert neighbour. For Russia, as always, the question of the Straits was paramount. Her anxiety had been great during the first Balkan War, when the Bulgarian army had reached the Chatalja Lines, and she had then announced that if the Bulgarian troops entered Constantinople the Russian fleet would be at once sent into the Bosphorus. But the second Balkan War saw the defeat of Bulgaria and the Turkish reoccupation of Adrianople.

Turkey's political ambition had always been to control the Christian West, and this had, no doubt, been her real reason for keeping her capital at Constantinople instead of at Angora. This ambition was fostered by Germany, who erroneously persuaded Turkey of the commercial importance of Constantinople to Anatolia, her real motives being, in a military sense, her cry of "Drang nach Osten," and, in a naval sense, her desire to control the rich and strategically important waterway of the Straits.

The German-controlled Bagdad Railway, the line through the Cilician Gates and the Taurus Tunnel, the extension to Maan in Arabia—ostensibly as a pilgrimage route, but actually a line of approach to the Suez Canal—all these and other activities had their explanation in Germany's anxiety to free herself from dependence on sea-power in her advance into Asia and Africa. For we must remember that the German idea of Mittel Africa was as much dependent on the "Bridge" of Anatolia as was the Berlin-Bagdad Railway itself.

We may note that our own interest in Anatolia is a military one; Turkey is, as always, the bridge between East and West. Our interest in the Straits, on the other hand, is purely naval, we are concerned only with their freedom, no matter who lives on their banks. Hence Pitt's thesis that alliance with the Turkish Empire is essential to British (i.e. military) interests is quite compatible with Lord Salisbury's dictum as to an open Straits (i.e. our naval interests), and with Russian ambitions, always assuming that the Anatolian capital is at Angora and not at Constantinople.

Situation on the Outbreak of War.

The actual situation in Turkey on the outbreak of the Great War seems to have taken the chief actors on the political stage of the

Allies by surprise.* Not even Russia, and certainly not England, had the faintest suspicion that relations between Turkey and Germany had progressed to the point of a secret alliance against Russia. This treaty was proposed by Turkey on July 27 and signed by both countries on August 2. Had an inkling of the truth reached London the orders to the Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean as regards the probable destination of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* would probably have taken a different form, and our battle cruisers would have barred the way to the Straits, thereby changing the character, and probably the duration, of the war.

The requisitioning by us on July 28 of the two new Turkish battleships fitting out in this country greatly upset Turkish calculations, and Mr. Churchill tells us that, so far from making Turkey an enemy, our action nearly converted her into an ally.† However, the arrival of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* stiffened Turkish backs, and thereafter "Turkey was animated, guided, and upheld during the struggle for four years by the German military and intellectual power."‡

Turkey's entry into the war in October, 1914, gave Russia her long-awaited opportunity, and it is easy to understand her pre-occupation as to the eventual fate of Constantinople and the Straits. The Allies, on the other hand, felt that, failing some definite guarantee to Russia, she might make a separate peace with the Central Powers. Accordingly, soon after the outbreak of war, and when the contemplated attack on the Dardanelles was first considered, Russia came to an agreement with England and France early in 1915 stipulating the annexation to Russia of Constantinople and the whole of the Straits, although we are told that M. Sazonoff, Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, was personally averse to Russia's taking possession of the city.

The actual events which led up to the heroic but misdirected and disastrous attempt to force the Dardanelles has been told so often and so vividly that we need not linger on that phase of the problem of the Straits. But one interesting fact came to my knowledge. I was assured by a very high Turkish statesman that very rarely in Turkish history had our prestige stood higher than it did during and after that tremendous struggle. That it sapped the man-power of the Turkish army, and so eased the task for Generals Maude and Allenby, there can be no doubt, and with a little better luck and management events might have been different. The obvious alternative after the naval failure of

* "I can recall," says Mr. Churchill—himself a Cabinet Minister at the time—"no great sphere of policy about which the British Government was less completely informed than the Turkish."—"World Crisis: The Aftermath," p. 359.

† "World Crisis: The Aftermath," p. 358.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

March, 1915, was a landing in the Gulf of Alexandretta. It is said Lord Kitchener favoured the idea, and its rejection has never been fully explained. Aleppo is—as a glance at the map shows—the strategic key of Europe, Asia and Africa. Again, in 1917, when the Grand Duke Nicholas was on the point of delivering an overwhelming blow at the Turkish army in Anatolia, it was largely the collapse of Russia which saved the situation for the Turks.

The Armistice, October 30, 1918.

The first clause of the armistice concluded on October 30, 1918, at Mudros between Admiral Calthorpe, the British Commander-in-Chief, "acting under authority from the British Government and in agreement with their allies," and the Turkish plenipotentiaries, headed by Raouf Bey, stipulated for the opening of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and for security of access to the Black Sea. It also stipulated for the Allied occupation of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus ports.

But it was not until nearly five years later, July 24, 1923, that the armistice was converted into a peace by the Treaty of Lausanne. And in that delay, as all the world knows, lies the explanation of the humiliating exit of the Allies from the Straits and Constantinople, the overwhelming defeat of Greece in carrying out a task set them by the Allies, and the resurrection of Turkey.

The prime factor was the failure of those in authority at the Peace Conference to recognize that speed was of the essence of the contract. Had a peace been concluded in 1919, as it quite well might, the Turk could with little difficulty have been compelled to cross the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, indeed, he fully expected it, and his departure then would have simplified the problem of the future of the Straits.

But even that delay might not have produced such disastrous consequences had it not been for the Smyrna policy. The Powers—as Mr. Graves tells us—"forgot geography when they gave the Greeks a patch of lowland round Smyrna on 'ethnographical' grounds." Then came the wonderful work of Mustapha Kemal in resurrecting the Turkish army at Angora and Sivas, well removed from sea-power at Constantinople, under the sting of the Greek occupation of Smyrna—a Smyrna always vital to the economic welfare of the Anatolian plateau, the Turkish homeland. As one of my colleagues on the High Commission has well put it: "The decision to put the Greeks into Asia Minor was one of those amazing blunders by which the fruits of victory, won by soldiers, are lost by politicians."[†] That decision was taken by the representatives of Great Britain, France and the United States on the urgent representation of M. Venizelos (himself incorrectly informed

* "The Question of the Straits," p. 20.

† "Turkey, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Sir Telford Waugh, p. 176.

by his agents) and on the wholly mistaken idea that the Greek community in Smyrna was in imminent danger from the Turks; actually, no such danger existed, as all Allied authorities on the spot and their Foreign Offices knew very well.* And it is worthy of note that one of the countries responsible for the decision was the United States; but, when it came to facing the music, that great institution, the American Constitution, came to its own rescue and denied all responsibility. It was the Monroe Doctrine working in the American mind, and it is strange that the diplomatic world of Europe had not more clearly foreseen this.

First Peace Treaty.

It was not until May, 1920, that the first peace treaty, the Treaty of Sévres, was handed to the Turks.

The intention of the Allies in this treaty was to insure absolute freedom of the Straits, not only to all merchant vessels and commercial aircraft, but also to all warships and military aircraft both in peace and war, and no act of hostility was to be committed either in the Straits or in the Sea of Marmora except as might be ordered by the League of Nations.

The territorial changes were planned to ensure this. Greece was to have Thrace up to the Chatalja Lines and also the peninsula of Gallipoli. Constantinople was to remain Turkish and the capital of Turkey, while a zone of territory was laid down, including both shores of both Straits, the Marmora and the islands both off and in the Straits, within which only Great Britain, France and Italy might maintain armed forces. Turkey and Greece, the territorial sovereigns, were both debarred from practically any military or naval forces in that zone. To enforce this a Commission of the Straits was to be formed, backed by the armed forces of the Allies. On this Commission all the countries affected were to be represented, provided they became members of the League of Nations. Subsequent withdrawal from the League would, *ipso facto*, involve withdrawal from the Commission.

There were several very serious obstacles to this solution of the Straits problem. In the first place Greece's frontier was brought to within dangerous proximity of the capital of her age-long adversary, and this danger was accentuated in Turkish eyes by the large Greek element in the city. Then Anglo-French rivalry had to be considered. Although France signed the treaty she never liked it; for one thing it emphasized Great Britain's position as the strongest naval Power,

* "The rumour of this intention (of sending Greek troops to Smyrna) had . . . roused the protests of the Smyrna European colony, and the American missionaries in Smyrna vied with the British High Commissioner in Constantinople in their separate simultaneous warnings against the perils of such a step."—"The World Crisis: The Aftermath," Mr. Winston Churchill, p. 365.

since sea-power was bound to be the principal executive force behind the Commission. This was also distasteful to Italy, who had bargained for a large slice of South-West Asia Minor, and the grievance against so-called "British naval predominance in the Straits" found indignant echo in Paris and Rome. This attitude undoubtedly stiffened Turkish opposition to the treaty even in a much modified form, and emphasis was added by the signature in October, 1921, of an agreement which was virtually a separate peace between France (as represented by M. Franklin Bouillon) and Angora. It is interesting to note that this defection on the part of France saved her nothing of the humiliation to which her nationals were subjected after the Peace of Lausanne.

But behind and really dominating these was the question of Russia, and the fact that this freedom of the Straits laid the Black Sea open to warlike operations by all countries. The situation of 1840 was recurring. Again, as in the days of Mehmet Ali, and the threat of Egypt backed by France, Constantinople was now in danger from the threat of Greece backed (as was alleged) by England, and once again Turkey turned to her old enemy, Russia, for support. This brought about a treaty between the two countries in March, 1921, in which both parties agreed not to recognize any peace terms imposed by force upon the other. Turkey's north-east border was recognized as extending from just south of Batum to the point where it abutted on Persia, thus settling a long-drawn-out dispute over the various Trans-Caucasian republics, as regards the Straits it envisaged a conference of the Littoral States, which was to guarantee the freedom of the Straits and the free passage through them for trade relations of all peoples, and which should not infringe the full sovereignty of Turkey or the security of her capital, Constantinople. It will be noted that no mention is made of the passage of ships of war.

Now to revert to the actual situation as between the Greek and Turkish armies.

The ebb and flow of the struggle in Asia Minor does not concern us; only its outcome. Early in 1922 the Greek Commander-in-Chief, General Papoulos, an able soldier, was relieved of his command, and his place taken by an officer whose eccentricities were the common talk of the Near East. It was purely a political appointment, and one which M. Venizelos, had he been in power, would never have countenanced. At that time the situation was a stalemate; but the brilliant Turkish leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, noting the change of command and the loss of Greek morale, and profiting also by the rearming of his own forces by France, Italy and Russia, struck hard in a frontal attack, routed the Greek army, destroyed once and for all the Greek dream of

* See "Survey of International Affairs, 1920-23," by A. S. Toynbee, p. 371.

Constantinople and San Sophia, compelled the eventual withdrawal of the allied forces from the Straits and Constantinople, and brought the problem of the Straits back to where it was in August, 1914, before Turkey entered the war; that is to say, it threw away the fruits of a victory over Turkey won almost entirely by British soldiers, and marked by the sacrifice of countless lives on the Gallipoli peninsula and in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and rendered necessary a settlement by negotiation, a settlement wherein Turkey met us practically on equal terms instead of having to submit to terms dictated to her by her victorious enemy.

The Treaty of Lausanne.

Nevertheless, it would be a strange commentary on the use of armed force if it turns out eventually—as some think possible—that the negotiated Peace of Lausanne proved more lasting and less productive of bitter feelings in years to come than the dictated peace terms of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Neuilly.

In the Lausanne Peace Treaty of 1923 is included a "Convention relating to the régime of the Straits." The Convention commences by declaring the principle of freedom of transit and of navigation by sea and by air in both Straits and in the Sea of Marmora. Merchant vessels and civil aircraft have complete freedom of passage in time of peace, and also in time of war if Turkey is neutral. If Turkey is a belligerent she must let neutral vessels pass, provided they are not assisting her enemy. Men-of-war and military aircraft also have freedom of passage in peace time, but the maximum force which any one Power may send through the Straits into the Black Sea must not exceed that of the strongest fleet of the Littoral Powers of the Black Sea. But the Powers reserve to themselves the right to send into the Black Sea at all times a force of not more than three ships, of which no individual ship shall exceed 10,000 tons.

In time of war, when Turkey is neutral, the conditions are much the same for neutral war vessels and aircraft: belligerent war vessels and aircraft must, generally speaking, be allowed to pass through the Straits; but all hostile acts, including the exercise of the right of visit and search, are forbidden in the Straits. When Turkey is a belligerent, neutral war vessels and aircraft must be permitted to pass through, subject to certain necessary precautions to establish their neutral status.

Both shores of both Straits are demilitarized, as are certain islands in the Marmora and off the entrance to the Dardanelles. The Turco-Greek frontier is pushed back to the Maritza River, with a demilitarized zone each side of it, and the Turks are once again in Adrianople. A garrison of 12,000 men is allowed for Constantinople and the neigh-

bourhood, and an arsenal and a naval base are permitted to be maintained at Constantinople.

Straits Commission.

Finally, a Straits Commission is set up under the League of Nations. It consists of representatives of all the great maritime Powers and the Black Sea States, and also Greece and Yugo-Slavia, with the Turkish representative as President. Russia, however, not being a signatory to the Convention, is not represented on the Commission.

The Commission carries out its functions under the supervision of the League of Nations, to which it reports, but it has no executive power or means of enforcing its decisions. Its powers are purely advisory, and it has, for example, no authority to intervene in the matter of movements in and out of the Black Sea of the warships of Powers bordering on the Black Sea. Should the freedom of the Straits be imperilled, it is primarily for France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, acting in conjunction, to meet the threat "by all the means that the Council of the League of Nations may decide for this purpose."

The Situation Today: Russia's Five-Year Plan.

Such is the situation as it exists today. The riddle of the freedom of the Straits, i.e. free passage to commerce to and from Black Sea ports in all circumstances, is still unsolved. A local war, for instance, between Turkey and, say, Greece or Bulgaria might paralyze the economic and financial organization of Russia and Roumania, ruin great shipping interests in distant countries and adversely affect the prosperity of the world. Whether the Lausanne Treaty, with its Straits Convention as an admittedly temporary expedient, will stand the test of time it would be hard to say. In the East, as it is often said, it is only the temporary which is permanent.

But no political readjustment can alter the immense geographical, economic and strategic importance of Constantinople and the Straits. If we regard the entrance to the Straits as the mouth of a great river whose tributaries are the Danube, the Don, the Dnieper, and—as I shall show presently—even the mighty Volga itself, with all the ports of the Black Sea and Constantinople, we get some idea of the immensity of the region directly affected by any interference with its normal flow of shipping.

As always, the most important factor is Russia, now the Soviet Union. We have seen how, in pre-war days, Russia's whole impulse was towards Constantinople. It dominated Russian policy for at least two centuries. Now, for the moment, the present rulers of the Soviet profess not to be interested. The removal, by execution or exile, of

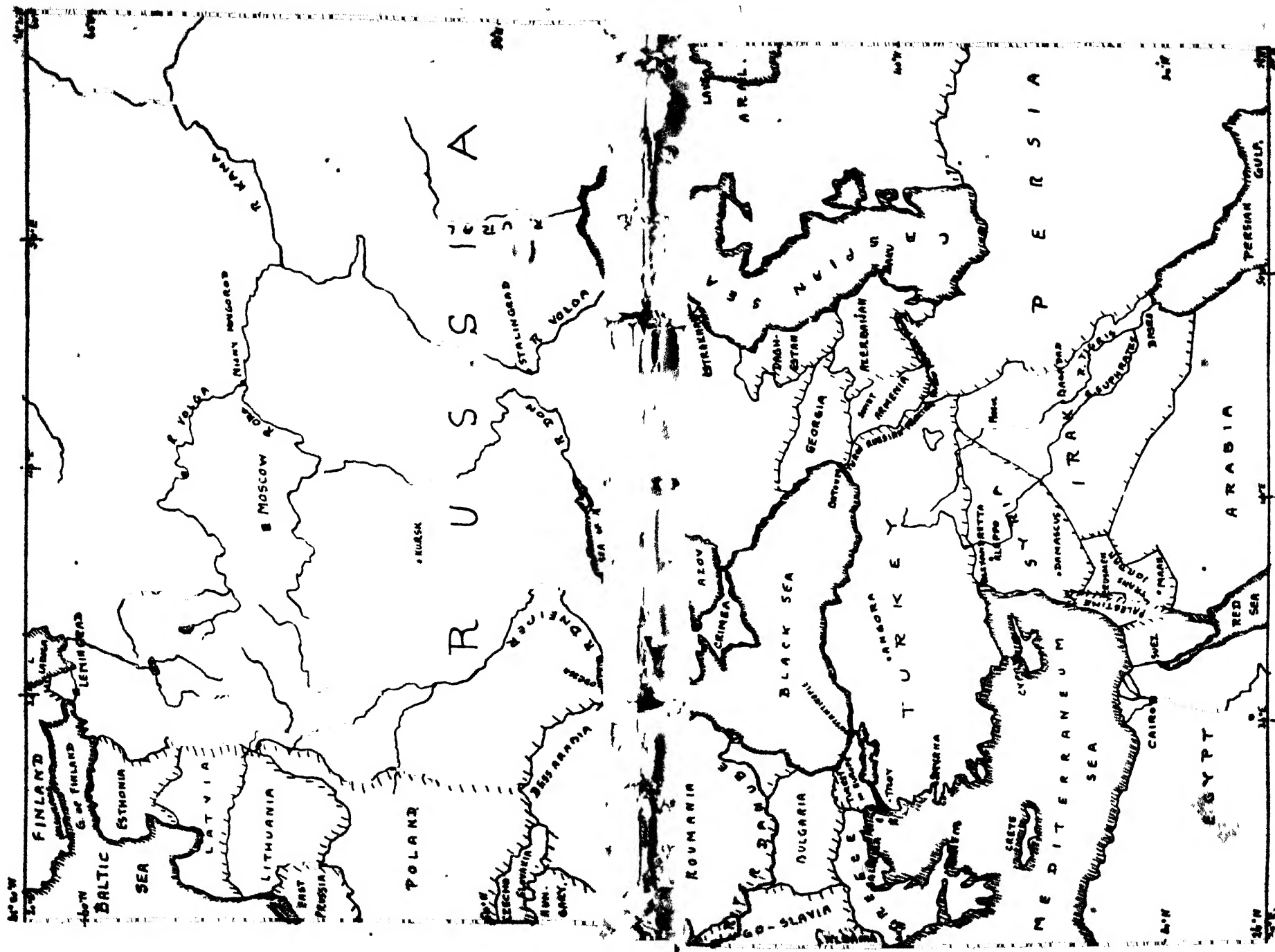
some 15,000,000 Russians has well-nigh eliminated the class which worked for Russian expansion. The present rulers and the people appear quite indifferent; their slogan is "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and Lenin is their prophet.

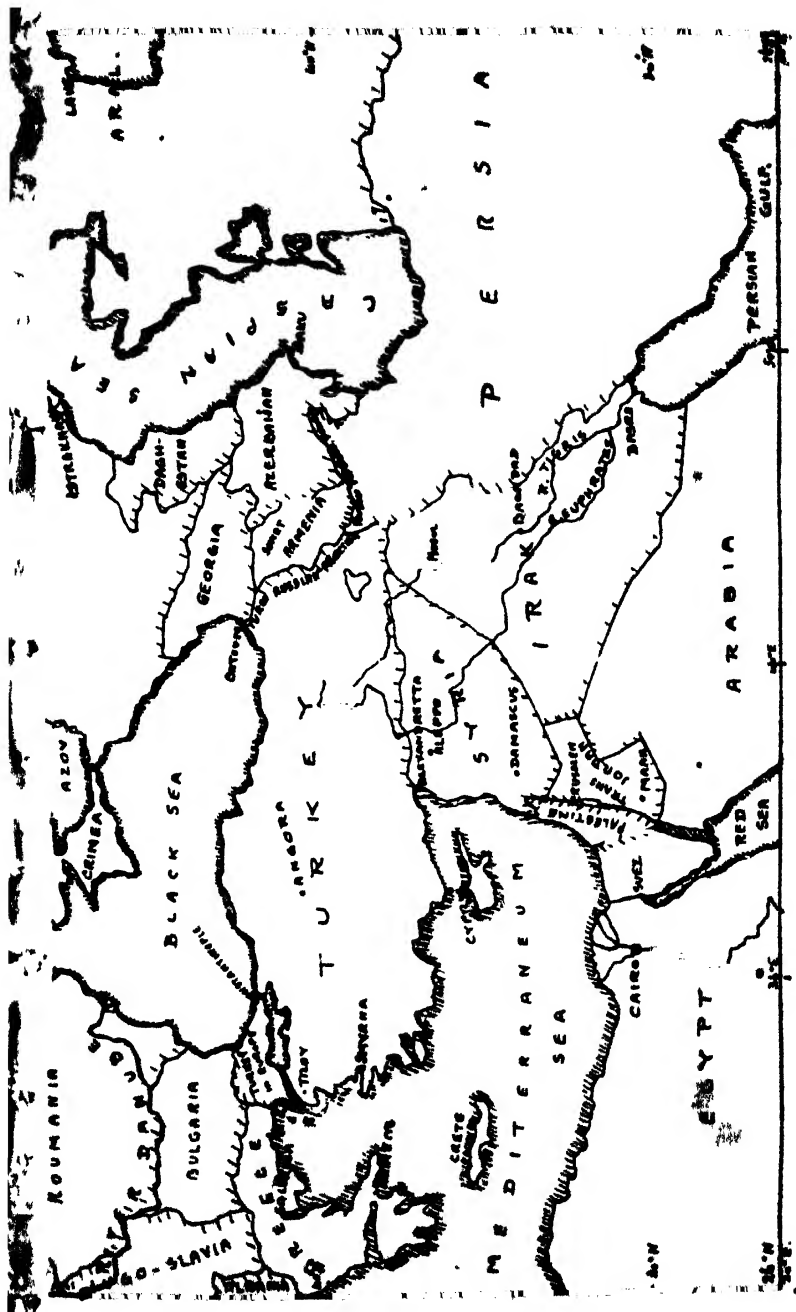
But in spite of themselves new problems are pressing on them, largely of their own making, and these may, sooner or later, change the view of those who are uppermost in Russia. Dominating every question in Russia today is the Soviet Five Years' Plan. This Plan, which is a continuation of the Russian "New Economic Policy," was started on October 1, 1928, and the Soviet Union hopes that by 1933 it will be twice as powerful a State, industrially, economically and militarily, as it was in 1928. Assuming that events take a normal course, and that no European war supervenes, or severe crop failure, or international boycott, there seems at least a possibility that this may be achieved, and we have always to remember that, for some totally inexplicable reason, the leaders of the Soviet Union profess to be obsessed with the idea that their country is on the verge of being attacked by some other State. As lately as March 11 last the Deputy Commissar for War told the Congress of Soviets that France had worked out a plan for the military invasion of the U.S.S.R. with the assistance of Poland and Roumania; while on May Day a manifesto was addressed to the "millions of victims whom the Imperialists are preparing as cannon fodder for the war against Soviet Russia," accusing the border States, backed by Great Britain and France, of preparing for war on the Soviet Union.

It is important to note that with the Soviet Union it is always the State that is considered— not the individual. It is the State that is to become powerful, the individual simply does not count, and utter misery is the result. The Communists are "determined that the Revolution shall not perish, even if a few peasants starve."

None the less, the younger generation, which knows little of pre-war or external conditions, are enthusiastic supporters of the Plan. It is their God. Factories are being erected all over Russia, and the whole country is being industrialized; old landed estates, after being split up into tiny individual holdings, are now being collectivized. Various districts are earmarked for the manufacture of certain commodities—for instance, Magnetogorsk, when completed, will be the second largest steel plant in the world. Mass production of tractors is planned at Stalingrad (late Tzaritzin), and for motor-cars at Nijny Novgorod. The world's largest wheat farm, of 1,000 square miles, is located in the North Caucasus. Dneprostroy is to have the largest power plant in the world, supplying power to innumerable factories. Nature itself comes to help: the Don basin, north of the Sea of Azov, has the

* "Economic Life of Soviet Russia," by C. B. Hoover.





greatest deposit of coal in Europe; and further south-east are the great oil-fields, where Baku leads the world in oil reserves—all these resources are being eagerly developed.

In short, generally speaking, an attempt is being made to plot for five years the whole course of life of an entire population of 150,000,000 people. And the Five Years' Plan is unquestionably to be followed by another one of anything from five to fifteen years, the whole aim being to outstrip the leading "capitalist" nations, and by flooding the world market bring about world unrest and world revolution. Finally, the Red Army is all part of the Plan—the constant danger to Europe of a conflict of arms with a powerful, well-equipped, modernized, zealous State, imbued with the conviction that it is its duty to bring the whole world into the Soviet Union.

Communications: The Volga-Don Ship Canal.

The ultimate success or failure of the Plan is too vast a subject to deal with now, but it is not hard to see how the working of the Plan affects our problem. Huge imports of manufactured articles and raw materials have been necessary for the various factories and for the mechanization of farms. But soon the tide will turn, and vast exports will flow out of the country by any and all available channels to flood the markets of the world. We have already seen what vast regions feed direct into the Black Sea: and there is yet another feeder. The Volga is the great river of Russia; it empties into the Caspian, while the Don flows into the Black Sea; in the neighbourhood of Stalingrad only a short distance divides them. "At Tzaritzin," says the "Encyclopædia Britannica," "the great river is separated from the Don by an isthmus forty-five miles in width. The isthmus is too high to be crossed by means of a canal." But what was an impossible engineering feat fifty years ago is not necessarily so today. Indeed, as far back as the sixteenth century Muhammed Sokolli, the able Grand Vizier of Selim the Sot, had conceived the gigantic project of joining the two rivers so as to insure Turkish domination over the Muscovite countries, and it was the disastrous attack on Astrakhan, with the object of carrying out this plan, that first brought the Turks into collision with the Russians. The plan failed for military reasons, but its inception shows its possibility; and it is interesting to note that its sponsor then turned his attention to a possible Suez Canal.

The possibility of such a ship canal is, no doubt, ever present in the minds of Russia's present rulers; it would revolutionize movement of trade throughout the whole country; it would put the vast Volga basin, with its canals reaching up to Leningrad and beyond, as well as the whole Caspian region, in direct touch with the outside world by ice-free routes.

It is no part of our task today to consider the effect of the "dumping" of such a huge output on the markets of the world. A world boycott of Russian exports would, of course, spell disaster for the Five Years' Plan, and would doubtless have other repercussions also.

Warm-Water Ports.

Now more than ever is Russia's straining for a warm-water ice-free port bound to revive. In what direction is she to turn? In the Baltic she now has only a small coast-line, ice-bound for a great part of the year, as are her more northern ports. In the Far East her dreams of expansion have been blocked by Japan, who has obtained great rights in Manchuria, but has failed to induce her nationals to settle there. On her western frontier only rail transport would be possible, and this could not cope with a fraction of the expected output.

Then there are the North-West Frontier of India and the Persian Gulf. The former must ever be a threat to us and a formidable political weapon, but it is far too distant for practical trade purposes. Persia, on the other hand, is a weak State, and we remember Russia's predilection for such a State on her frontiers.

Russia's whole trend is southward; there, rather than northward or eastward, is she to find her ice-free outlets, her markets, and her trade routes. Already she has established herself securely in the Caucasus by a series of treaties and agreements, and, reaching down below the Caspian, has captured all the markets of Northern Persia; now her gaze is doubtless directed to the nations on her south-eastern border and to the ports beyond of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

But those nations are no longer the unsettled tribes of former days; their independence is to them a very real thing, and they will brook no domination from a stronger Power. Persia is particularly affected; although, as we have seen, she is still a weak State, she is awakening under her new and energetic ruler. Her people and her army are becoming more and more forces to be reckoned with, and any Russian advance would encounter strong opposition from Persia, unless, of course, she threw in her lot with Russia, an eventuality which would not altogether surprise students of Eastern affairs.

Moreover, any threat to Persia would be a serious menace to England, both in regard to her oil supply, on which she is at present so dependent, and also in regard to her Indian Empire.

Lastly, we have the Straits, the natural outlet, as it always has been, for Russian trade. The great majority of Russia's immense factories, as well as her farms, mines, and oil-fields, are in the south; consequently, now more than ever do the Straits become of immense importance to Russia, both as a gateway of trade and as a shield from

hard to say, but there can be no doubt that its fine spirit is animating the whole nation. Largely, no doubt, as the result of this, the army is greatly improved. As always, it is very popular in the country; the soldier has lost that furtive, hang-dog look, and has developed his self-respect.

For some reason it has been decreed that the Ture Ojaghi is to be incorporated in the only real political party in Turkey, the People's Party; it is to be hoped that it will not thereby lose its humanizing influence.

Another great undertaking in Turkey is the twenty-five years' railway scheme: this was started in 1926, and aims to give Turkey a very complete railway system, useful alike for commercial and strategical purposes. Swedish material is employed, and the undertaking is backed by Swedish banks.*

But Turkey has been at war from 1912 to 1923, and the strain has been terrific. She needs rest and time to pull herself together before being called upon to face any further struggles.

Should events, however, force Russia, in spite of herself, to invade Anatolia so as to get at the Straits, Turkey would be hard put to it to prevent the passage of the Red Army across her mountains and plains in a single-handed struggle. But that here, also, she would not be single-handed seems fairly certain, so long as the League of Nations is a living force in European politics, again assuming that Turkey resisted rather than welcomed the invader.

As to the future, a well-known Turkish writer assures us that in form Turkey is bound to remain a republic; the traditional forces are so much discredited that the revival of the Sultanate is an impossibility. Turkey's face, she says, is resolutely set towards the future, and she quotes as her motto: "We come from the East; we go towards the West." In its economic system, she tells us, Turkey stands in desperate need of capital, and, moreover, Islam is not communistic. Islam, she says, in its recognition of the rights of man, emphasizes the right of property as its fundamental principle.†

But any movement by Turkey to the West must be cultural rather than geographical. It is in the highest degree improbable that she will ever again penetrate further into Europe than her present Adrianople boundary. And the question we have to ask ourselves is how far that cultural movement affects our problem. "It would," says a distinguished historian, "wholly accord with the paradox of Turkish history if the ultimate solution were to come, not from the ingenuity and wisdom of the West, but from the inextinguishable vitality of the Turk himself."‡

* For outline of railway scheme, see C.A.S.J., vol. xv., i.

† "Turkey Faces West," by Halide Edib, pp. 280-281.

‡ "The Eastern Question," by J. A. R. Marriott, pp. 540-541.

But the Turk "has been consistent only in inconsistency," and whether the reaction which is bound to follow the eventual withdrawal of the Ghazi Pasha from the scene will land the Turk back in his old capital and in his old crafty, cruel, and corrupt ways, or whether, on the other hand, the changes are lasting and permanent, it would be idle to speculate. In any case, the process of regeneration must be a long and difficult one.

Turkish-Russian Relations.

As regards the present relations between Turkey and Russia, these are largely governed by a Treaty of Neutrality and Non-aggression signed in December, 1925, and renewed in December, 1929, whereby each State guarantees neutrality in the event of military action against the other on the part of other countries, and also undertakes to refrain from any attack on the other, and not to participate in any alliance against the other. The treaty was originally a counterblast to Locarno, and its main provisions have been widely adopted in treaties between other contiguous countries. Consequently, the greater part of the Near and Middle East is now covered with a network of treaties based on the Soviet-Turkish model. These treaties raise many interesting points which need not detain us now, but in any case it is questionable whether they should be taken at their face value or whether there is not behind them an attempt to establish in the Near East a system of alliances of which Russia shall be the dominating partner.

On the naval side a protocol between Russia and Turkey was signed last March (*The Times*, March 10, 1931), whereby the two countries bind themselves not to construct any kind of warship destined to reinforce their respective fleets in the Black Sea or adjacent waters, and, generally, not to reinforce their fleets in those waters in any way without six months' notice. This is interesting in that it seems to show a desire for peace, but it is none the less very vague: Turkey has no fleet in the Black Sea, anyhow, and the "adjacent waters" may mean anything from the Sea of Azov to the Mediterranean. In any case, the weak naval forces of both Powers would, as we have seen, have little direct influence on any struggle for the guardianship of the Straits. That struggle must, as I have tried to show, be primarily a military one, the Navy and the Air Force rendering great assistance on interior lines of communication, reconnaissance, and so forth.

A similar treaty of friendship and neutrality between Turkey and Greece was signed at Angora on October 30, 1930 (exactly twelve years after the signing of the Armistice), by M. Venizelos and the Turkish Foreign Minister. The naval *status quo* is guaranteed, each party promising six months' notice of any intention to build new naval units. The treaty also provides for the neutrality of either party in the event of the other being attacked.

All well-wishers of better relations between these two hereditary foes must feel genuinely glad at this sign of better things. Since Greece, at the bidding of the Allies and the United States, embarked on that Smyrna adventure, she has reaped a bitter reward. Her debacle in 1922 "dissipated the dream of a revived Byzantine Empire with its capital once more on the Bosphorus," and now she is devoting her energies to putting her house in order.

For the purposes of our problem, therefore, she does not come very much into the picture, but she is too virile a nation and her people too clever and businesslike to be excluded for any great length of time from Near East problems.

The Future of the Straits.

Such, then, is the kaleidoscopic picture which presents itself to Europe's eyes when she looks eastward at that narrow strip of water so fraught with danger and intrigue, which for over five hundred years has done more than any other one thing to endanger the peace of the world.

Having now reviewed the whole situation, and assuming that Russia does not decide to use force in its solution, we must ask ourselves: "What is the immediate problem of the Straits, and how is that problem to be solved?"

Essentially, I submit, the problem is twofold.

1. That there shall be free passage through the Straits for all commercial vessels and aircraft to and from the ports of the Black Sea at all times and in all circumstances. In short, the Freedom of the Straits.

2. That the passage of warships and military aircraft into and out of the Black Sea shall be so regulated that no hostile act can be committed in the Straits or in the Black Sea which will jeopardize the Freedom of the Straits or the security of Littoral Powers of the Black Sea.

Into these two conditions the future of Constantinople does not necessarily enter. Even at Sévres, and still more at Lausanne, any idea of turning the Turk out of Europe had been abandoned. Greece's claim is at present impossible of realization, while today—more than ever—Russia has no real need of the city itself.

It would seem, then, that the conditions of the problem can only be met when the control of the Straits—the custody of the key to the Black Sea—is in the hands of some Power or Powers able to guarantee these two conditions.

Who is qualified for the task of guarantor?

I suggest there are four alternatives, all of them dependent on the continued existence in some form or other of the League of Nations:

(1) A control by a condominium of the Littoral Black Sea States, with headquarters at Constantinople, under the League of Nations.

(2) Sole charge by Turkey under stringent guarantees to the League of Nations.

(3) A continuance of the present Straits Commission under the League of Nations.

(4) The transfer of the League of Nations itself from Geneva to the shores of the Bosphorus.

With regard to (1), this alternative has in time past been urged by at least one close student of events.*

It would have the advantage of giving to Russia and the Black Sea States a greater degree of security concerning this "key to their house"; it is urged that aviation has diminished the political and strategic importance of the Straits, and that this new factor should make it easier for the other Powers to recognize the special interests of Russia and the other Black Sea States, and thus to establish in this part of the world the normal conditions essential to the maintenance of a durable peace.

As against this, neither Russia nor Turkey are at present members of the League of Nations, and, moreover, the trade of the Black Sea is the interest of many nations other than those situated on its borders. Nevertheless, the proposal has its possibilities, as we shall see.

As regards (2), the picture I have endeavoured to draw of Turkey speaks for itself. Everything depends on her future development, and he would be a bold man indeed who would assert that a return to an undisputed Turkish control of the Straits could be in the best interests either of Turkey herself or of the world in general.

As regards (3), its weak point lies in the fact that, as we have seen, there is no executive power on the spot to enforce its authority. The League of Nations, to which it reports, is at the other end of Europe, pressed and besieged by urgent questions of all kinds demanding decision. It is true that an offending nation might render herself liable to drastic coercion under Article XVI. of the Covenant of the League by all members of the League, or, alternatively, by the great naval Powers; but a unanimous verdict of the Council naming the offender would be necessary—by no means an easy matter, especially in the case where instant decision and action are essential to prevent a check in the flow of trade. This difficulty might to some extent be got over by

(4) Viz., the transfer of the habitat of the League itself from neutral-tinted Geneva to world-important Constantinople, the site chosen by Constantine the Great for the capital of his Eastern Empire, the meeting-place of East and West, the centre, surely—if there is one

* *Vide* "Glimpses of High Policy," by M. Tcharykow, pp. 276-279.

—of the world's affairs. Whether the roots of the League are now too deeply embedded in Swiss soil it is hard to say, but such a view-point would at least give it a better general, because more distant, picture of the complicated European tangles and a clearer outlook on world affairs as a whole.

Moreover, it would help the League to free itself from the charge, often brought against it, of concerning itself chiefly with the affairs of Western European nations.

It would be a moral rather than a physical solution, and, as at present, armed force in the form of some executive authority would be necessary to put the League's decisions into effect. In years to come, and should the situation in Russia become more normal and more stabilized, that executive authority might be vested in the Littoral States of the Black Sea, as outlined in my first alternative, but for the present at least it must remain in the hands of the Powers nominated by the Treaty of Lausanne.

Mr PHILIP GRAVIS. There were some points in the lecture that I should like to refer to. Of course there is one place where we are up against the unknown—nearly every student of Russian affairs seems to have a different theory as to how that country will develop, and a general study of Russian life, which is more important than the state of the Five Years' Plan, gives one a picture of young Russians growing up with an idea of their mission. I should say these people are likely to explode against their rulers if their rulers do not show value. If these people do not get the world revolution they have been brought up to believe in, they will ask "Why all these hardships?"

There is another point of interest—the connection of the Black Sea basin with the Russian problem. At present Persia is very dependent for her trade on the goodwill of Russia, and on the security of the caravan route which comes out on the Black Sea at Trebizond. Is it not conceivable we shall have a rather important change in the next few years when the pipe-line has been carried across from the oil-field near Mosul to the Mediterranean? I take it the pipe-line will have to be accompanied by a railway, and it is surely very probable that the Persians, who are very slowly constructing a railway out of revenue, will realize that it may possibly pay them better to link up with the Mediterranean by way of Mosul, and for certain classes of traffic to become, as they are not now, independent of Russia. I think that is a point that is of great interest and importance for the near future.

As to the Volga and Black Sea connection Russia has very large resources, and one sees no reason why they should not link the two seas, and then perhaps link up the Caspian to the Aral Sea by the old

channel of the Oxus. A despotic country, with an enormous amount of cheap labour and forced labour at its disposal, can do a great deal in that way. As to the mechanics of it, I take it they could for a long time draw on German and American brains.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Telford Waugh has had a long experience of Turkish affairs, and we should be glad to have a few remarks from him.

Sir TELFORD WAUGH: It is eighteen months since I left Turkey, so I am not really in a position to say what is going on in the country today, but I have heard lately, and I have it on good authority, that there is talk of a secret understanding between Turkey, Germany, and Russia. Although the relations between the Turks and the Germans during the war were very bad, the Turks resenting the German bullying and the Germans loathing the Turkish incompetence, yet since the Armistice the Germans, with their usual patient, methodical work, have begun to get an influence again. The Ghazi Pasha himself was very angry with Germany and could not stand the Germans during the war, but I think that hostility has largely died out, and the truth is that German influence today is stronger in Turkey than any other European influence. The railways that Sir Richard Webb spoke about as being constructed by Swedish banks are really being constructed with German money, Germans are behind the Swedes.

In Turkey you find Germans all over the country, engineers and mechanics, picking up jobs here and there, and living under conditions which an Englishman would not put up with. The German Embassy has been quietly working. The German Ambassador told me before I left "We have lost the old colony we had, the well-to-do merchants, now we have a colony of poor people, but they are there - in numbers." It is quite possible, I think, that this idea of a secret understanding may be true. The Turks, I think, are quite alive to the danger of Russia, even though the Russian Empire has disappeared, they know the danger will grow again. But I think they would feel much more comfortable in making arrangements with Russia if they knew Germany was with Russia; it would rather take off the edge of the danger for them, and I think that is a point that should be borne in mind—the possibility of an agreement between Germany, Russia, and Turkey, by which Russia would have what she wanted in the Straits. As far as the control of the Straits goes that would remain in Turkish hands, but Russia would have freedom of egress and entrance.

I also have read lately that interesting book by Mr. Tcharykow, the pre-war Russian Ambassador in Turkey, who came back after the war as an exile and recently died. The book was published shortly after his death, and is called "Glimpses of High Politics." He lays it down that Russia really did not want Constantinople even before the war. Constantinople would be of no use to her, and it is to her interest to keep

the Turk there, and if the Turk is kept there I think he is quite prepared to allow Russia to have her say.

Lord LAMINGTON: I agree with the remarks made by the last speaker. Russia could only want the freedom of the Straits for the purpose of commerce or for an attack on other people. At present Russia is absolutely invulnerable, and whatever policy one takes up one cannot attack Russia with any chance of defeating her. She can undertake any policy she likes in any part of the world. If it fails she retreats. I regret I was too late to hear the remarks of the lecturer on the Soviet Plan or as to the obsession in Russia about an attack from outside. Is that not done to stimulate the people to martial ardour? Russia's policy is to try to establish Soviet Government and make it universal; if she fails in that undertaking I should think it more than likely she will endeavour to make some attack outside. The position seems very vague, and it would be a remarkable person who would be able to prognosticate the future of European politics. As to the railway across Persia, north to south, I do not really think it will ever be accomplished. Persia's agreement with an American syndicate to build the railway having failed, she now tries to construct it herself at a cost of one million pounds a year. As the estimate is twenty millions, this would mean a cost of forty millions or thereabouts altogether.

The CHAIRMAN: We should all desire to thank Sir Richard Webb for an extraordinarily interesting lecture. It is scarcely surprising that the Admiral should be a master of the subject seeing that he was Acting High Commissioner in Constantinople after the war and head of the Naval Commission to Greece, besides holding high commissions in the Navy, he has familiarized himself with the subject on which he has been talking. I agree with Mr Graves that it is very possible the explosion may come in Russia earlier than we anticipate, I think the Soviet rulers are active abroad, but they are up against something even more formidable when they try to organize the muziks and the workmen of Russia on an economic basis, and if they do not attain their aims we may get military movements or a collapse in Russia.

But my duty now is only to thank the Admiral on your behalf for a wonderfully interesting lecture and for a study which will provoke us all to take a renewed interest in this question in the light which he has brought before us. (Applause.)

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND TRANS-BORDER COUNTRY UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION*

By J. COATMAN

I KNOW there are some people here who have a very profound acquaintance with the North-West Frontier and North-West Frontier affairs, so if I deal with some elementary matters for the benefit of those whose knowledge is not so complete, I hope these few will forgive me. Now, the title of my address, "The North-West Frontier Province and Trans-border Country under the New Constitution," needs, perhaps, a little explanation, because, to begin with, the new constitution is not yet in force, and we do not quite know what it will be when it comes into force, and altogether what I think I had better do is to try to give you as accurate a picture as I can of the circumstances of the Frontier and its people, and some account of the forces which are at work in that extraordinarily interesting but strangely little-known part of the world.

Of course, the question of the North-West Frontier and its trans-border in the new situation is part of a very much wider subject—namely, the whole political future of India. But the North-West Frontier as part of the problem is of peculiar and vital interest, because the North-West Frontier, as it happens, is one of the few spots on the earth's surface where we, the British, if I may use a homely metaphor, can take a knock-out blow. It is like the solar plexus or the point of the jaw in a boxer: if he gets a blow there he is knocked out. The question of the North-West Frontier in the reforms is thus bound to be not only of interest, but of painful and vital interest to us.

Now, let us look for a moment at what the Frontier is. The word "frontier" itself needs a certain amount of definition. To a Frontier

* Delivered by Professor J. Coatman on March 25, 1931. General Sir George Barrow was in the Chair.

Opening the meeting, the CHAIRMAN said: "Professor Coatman is now going to speak to us on a subject which I suppose he knows more about than anybody in England or in the world. He has studied the subject from A to Z, and was attached to the Round Table Conference. I think most of you knew Professor Coatman, if not personally, by reputation, so I will not go into the formality of introducing him to you, but will ask him to begin his lecture straight away."

offer the word "frontier" does not conjure up any idea of the definite line of a scientific frontier. We think of the whole of the great mass of territory between the Indus and the other side of the Sulaiman range of mountains going from Chitral down to the borders of Baluchistan—which for our purposes is not in the North-West Frontier—that is, six or seven hundred miles of a tangled mass of mountains, with a good deal of level ground between the Indus and the mountains in the south of the Frontier Province, and in odd valleys and places, such as Peshawar and Kohat districts, and others. For the most part the typical Frontier country is the Sulaiman Hills, which run up in the south to 11,000 feet high.

Strictly speaking, there are two frontiers in that territory. There is the so-called administrative border, which divides the five regularly administered districts of the North-West Frontier Province from the tribal territory, which, for all practical purposes, may be said to be comprised in the Sulaiman Hills. Now, the hills again are divided from Afghanistan by what we call the Durand line. In 1894 Sir Mortimer Durand delimited the frontier of this tribal territory from Afghanistan. These hills, the tribal territory, although not administered by us as we administer the ordinary districts of the Frontier Province, is nevertheless part of the greater India.

The tribal territory lies within the British and not the Afghan sphere of influence, and the British Government's policy towards it has, since 1921, been definitely directed towards introducing there some of the blessings of peace, order, and education. This policy has received its most striking manifestations in Waziristan, where the location of a cantonment at Razmak, and the building of mechanical transport roads, have begun the process of pacification, which, we hope, will be completed and consolidated before many years are past. This policy should, in the end, remove the age-old menace from the north-west, and make the Frontier hills and Frontier men the guardians of India instead of her constant danger. So that is what we think of when we talk about the Frontier, this great mass of mountain country, with valleys here and there, running from away in the far north right down to the borders of Baluchistan.

Now I will deal very summarily with the Peshawar and other districts. There is nothing to be said about these for the moment except that they are regularly administered, subject to one or two peculiar laws, just like any other district. You must not think that the administrative border divides the five settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province absolutely from the tribes. It does not. There is a good deal of connection between them. Certain tribes, the Mohmands, Wazirs, Bhattanis, and others, actually straddle the borders, part of the tribes living in our districts and part in tribal territory.

There is a good deal of intermarriage amongst people on both sides of the border, and of course there is a good deal of travelling to and fro between the tribal tracts and the British districts by people of our side and their side, and those of us who have been in places like Peshawar city know how very large are the numbers of tribesmen who go down to India and how there are many points of contact between our territory and the tribes.

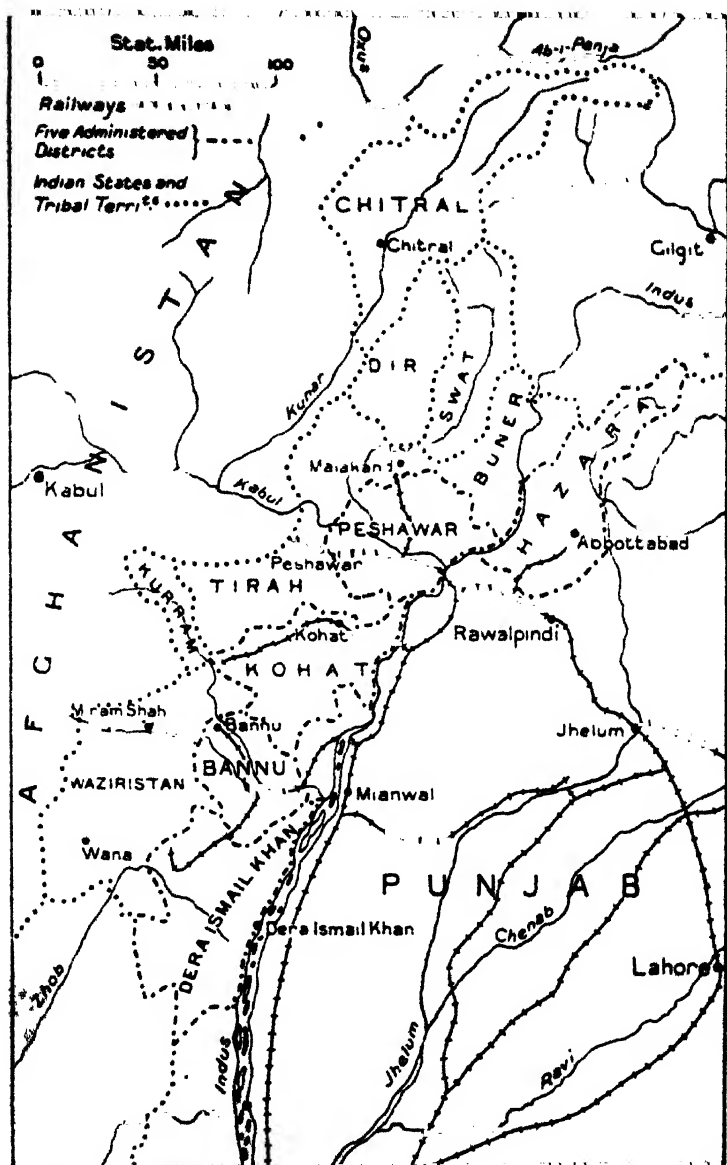
Next look at the tribal country. If you get a really big-scale map of the tribal country you will see the names of the main tribes marked on that map—the Swatis and Afridis, and so on and so forth—and each tribe has its own more or less definitely defined piece of hill country. There are odd disputes about grazing grounds, but normally the tribes stick to their own parts of the hills, marrying for the most part in their own tribe; in fact, each tribe is a little fairly self-contained polity. Nevertheless, as we have found on occasions in the past, there is a clear sense of unity, when occasion arises, between all these tribes. In 1897 we had perhaps the most spectacular demonstration of this fact; for a time from north to south, right away from Swat in the north down to Waziristan in the south, we had most of the tribes on our hands at the same time. That is a picture we have to remember.

Lastly, there is a good deal of touch between the tribesmen of the tribal tracts and Afghanistan. Again, certain of the tribes straddle the Durand line, and certain of the tribes, particularly when they think they can make trouble for us by doing so, are very eager to accept the suzerainty and protection of the King of Afghanistan. The whole of this Frontier tract thus in a way forms one nexus. You can get currents of opinion going right through that tract. I remember how surprised I was when I first discovered this fact, when I was in one of the tribal militias. In the tribal militias we live in forts in the hills with our men, so we get to know our people fairly well, and I know from experience how strangely responsive tribesmen are to what is happening in India, and often I have received news of what is happening in India from tribesmen before I have got it in the usual way or seen it in the newspapers. I have known this time after time. On the Afghanistan side you see the same thing; you see the great interest shown by these tribesmen in what is happening in India. During the war, when the Kaiser sent his famous letter to the Amir, long before our people knew what was in that letter we were told about it by certain of our Sepoys who happened to meet people who had actually spoken to the custodians of the letter. If there is any break in this continuity it comes away in the north, where you get the small kingdoms.

I have taken some trouble to bring out the fact of the solidarity, so to speak, of the whole of this area, because it has very definite bearing on our problem.

Having seen what the Frontier is and something of the possibilities of political homogeneity in this great mass of territory, let us turn more specifically to the North-West Province itself and to its government. As you all know, the North-West Province was till 1901 the frontier of the Punjab. The separation of these five districts from the Punjab was part of Lord Curzon's masterly frontier policy. In 1901 politics in India were of no importance, and so we had an absolutely free hand to do what we liked with the frontier, and we certainly gave the Frontier Province a constitution which made it quite safe both for us and the people who lived there, and the constitution, the political arrangements, of the North-West Province have not changed in the least since 1901, with the small exception of the introduction of election in the Peshawar Municipality—not a very important reform. That is also another factor in the situation, that since 1901 there has been no change in the constitution of the Frontier Province. Its civil administration is entirely in the hands of the Chief Commissioner and his officers. There is no question of any Legislative Council, of any direct power of interference being vested in the people of that province, and if anybody really wants to understand the spirit of the government of the North-West Frontier Province, if he really wants to see how absolutely official it is, let him take the Frontier Crimes Regulations Act, which is the keynote of the Frontier Administration, and he will see there how all power is firmly vested in the hands of the British officers.

Since 1901 many things have happened in India. There have been two first-class measures of reforms, namely the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1908 and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Now, by each of these reforms important changes were introduced into the government of the Punjab, especially by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. I need not weary you by telling you the details of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, but you can imagine that changes of first-class importance such as this could hardly happen in the Punjab without their repercussions being felt in the North-West Province. And here again I should explain that there is a good deal of touch between the North-West Province and the Punjab. For example, on the western side of the Indus—the side, that is, on which the Frontier Province (with the exception of the Hazara District) is situated—there is a part of the Mianwali District of the Punjab. Certain Pathan tribes live in this district, and in certain parts of it some sections of the Frontier Crimes Regulations are in force; similarly in the Dera Ghazi Khan, Attock and Mozaffargarh districts of the Punjab. So there again you get the Western Punjab also drawn into this great nexus. Therefore these political changes which have taken place in the Punjab, accompanied by a tremendous stirring of political opinion, have produced their effects on the North-West Frontier also.



Now, apart from the military operations which have been undertaken since 1901, the history of the North-West Frontier Province has been, on the whole, peaceful. I can think of only one great upheaval, and that was the Khilafat agitation which came to its head in the autumn of 1920, when for a time there was certainly a very grave situation in certain parts of the Frontier Province; but that agitation on the North-West Frontier was a religious agitation, an agitation against the Turkish Peace Treaty, which Mohammedans regarded as a direct attack on Islam. It had not any political basis, as we understand the word "politics."

Nevertheless, before 1920 a political life of a rudimentary kind, and for various reasons necessarily cautious and concealed—a political life of a sort—had come into existence. And you can understand why it was so. Apart from the reforms in other parts of India, all this time we had been educating a large number of the people of the Frontier Province, and not only them but certain tribesmen, particularly the sons of the Khans and the chiefs up in the north, and the educated youth of the Province, there is not the least doubt, have for years proved responsive to the influences coming from the east.

Now, as I say, these developments of a political life on the Frontier did not come to the surface until after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, and the inauguration of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Punjab Legislative Council. Speech in those bodies being privileged, the persons interested in the introduction of political reforms into the Frontier were able to ventilate their ideas, and those of you who ever have occasion to look at the debates of the Legislative Assembly will see how from 1921 onwards, year after year, there are regular debates on this subject. Mohammedan members introduce measures into the Legislative Assembly asking for this or that measure of reform.

In 1922 the Government of India decided that it would see what could be done in the matter of reform for the Frontier, and it formed a Committee under Sir Denys Bray, the Foreign Secretary, certainly the best man for the task. Sir Denys Bray, with another British colleague and two Hindu and two Mohammedan members, toured the whole Frontier in 1922 making inquiries, and then made a report. The British and the Mohammedans agreed and wrote the majority report, and the two Hindus wrote a minority report. Sir Denys Bray, Sir Norman Bolton, and their Mohammedan colleagues decided that in view of the peculiar circumstances it was not possible to do anything but maintain the tract as an area under the absolute control of the Government of India. Nevertheless, they admitted the genuineness and the strength of the desire for some changes, and they recommended a very cautious measure of reforms, particularly in regard

to the judiciary and in regard to election instead of nomination for local bodies.

The Hindus, on the other hand, said the five districts of the Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab, and the trans-border tracts should be left with the Government of India. Nothing was done on the Bray Report, and for various reasons, chiefly the communal reason. With the prospect of something being done, the old communal difficulties immediately flared up, as they are flaring up at the present moment, and the Punjab Hindus, who had pressed very strongly for the amalgamation of the Frontier districts of the Province, gradually began to cool off, for it dawned on them that if this was done the Mohammedans would be in a still more overwhelming majority in the Punjab than before, and they could not help holding the balance of power. So this idea of re-joining the Frontier districts to the Punjab gradually faded into oblivion, and nobody recommends it now.

It is a very striking thing that all through these debates in the Legislative Assembly there has always been this cleavage between Hindus and Mohammedans. From time to time they have seemed to be about to agree on the subject of the Frontier Province, but always in the end they have found themselves unable to agree.

Well, now, another element in bringing about the growth of political life in the North-West Frontier Province has been the presence, in Peshawar particularly, of a wing of Hindu extremists, accompanied by a few Mohammedans professing the Congress doctrine, and from time to time these men have had considerable influence among their people on the Frontier. They had a good deal to do with the actual organization of the trouble in the Peshawar District last year, but, as I have been trying to show, they could not have done what they did had the way not been prepared for them by the existence and previous working of definitely political influences and aspirations among the people of the Frontier Province, who for years past have been chafing bitterly against the inferiority of their political status as compared with that of the inhabitants of the Punjab and other parts of India.

Anyhow, the Frontier Congress men have been a very strong factor in the growth of political life of the North-West Frontier Province, as such men have been in every country in the world throughout historical times. Also there is the trans-border influence—men, for example, like the Haji of Turangzai, of whom there are always a few across the border helping everything that has an anti-British tinge, men with a tremendous influence among their co-religionists, whose influence has been at work from the old days, from 1860 onwards.

I have gone at some length into these matters because even today some find it very difficult to say why any reforms should be given to the

Frontier Province. You find people who know the Frontier Province quite well, and who speak with authority, who deny that there is any general desire for political change. But I want you to understand that these forces have been working for years and must have produced very strong reactions among the people. And here again, speaking from personal knowledge, I know how, when I was stationed in Peshawar, I was struck by the interest of the young men at places like the Edwards College and the Islamia College—both of them colleges of the Punjab University—in politics, and their desire that their Province also should have a political life. I first knew these young men twelve or fifteen years ago, and since then undoubtedly a great development of political life has taken place. And those of you, again, who read the account of the disturbances in Peshawar last year will have been struck with the suddenness with which the trouble arose, the way in which the Red Shirts seemed to spring out of the ground as if by magic. It was not magic at all. There has been for years a good deal of agitation going on beneath the surface. Now, so far, the Province has not produced any eminent politician. The only leaders of these Frontier people, even of the districts, are their own Khans. But the Khans themselves are divided on this subject of reforms for the North-West Frontier Province. A few of them undoubtedly oppose any measure of reforms because they see in reforms the destruction of their own power. But, again speaking from personal knowledge, I know that the majority of the Khans, certainly in the most advanced district of the Province, Peshawar, do think that reforms, as near as possible to the Punjab model, are necessary in order to absorb all this floating discontent in the Province which shows itself occasionally, as last year, in a violent outbreak.

Now that, briefly, was the situation in which we were placed at the Round Table Conference. It might be thought that it is perfectly easy to give the same reforms to the Frontier Province as to the Punjab; why should we not do it? There are many good reasons why we should not, and the first reason is the one I mentioned to you at the beginning of my address—namely, the position of the North-West Frontier and its importance from the point of view of defence and foreign relations. And on the Frontier even the ordinary process of government, the police and the building of roads, cannot be looked upon in quite the same way as in other parts of India, because, after all, the North-West Frontier Province is the terrain in which our armies might have to operate in case of war. We cannot play fast and loose with that territory. Even the ordinary processes of government, the building of roads and the administration of police, are not the same there as elsewhere, because the police, the Frontier constabulary and militias, are all part of the defence organization, and even the civil police cannot be left to the unrestrained charge of any Minister, however able, how-

ever loyal he may be, who is going to be controlled by a Legislative Council, because the strength of a chain, after all, is its weakest link, and the police are very definitely part of the chain.

Let us take any border section of country. Suppose for a moment that the police were in politics, and that there was a Khan thereabout who wanted to "down" the Minister in charge of the police. Knowing the mentality of these men, one knows it would be easy to plan repeated raids into British territory, which could be carried out with a reasonable degree of impunity, and which would thoroughly discredit the Minister in charge of the police. Another thing that might happen is this. You have got to remember that these Khans, who are rulers of the people still, are what we call in the vernacular very "siddi." In some cases there are bitter feuds among them. If one of the Khans were head of the police, all sorts of attempts inside the Province itself would be made to break down the police administration in order to discredit him. I am not putting it too extremely. I am myself convinced of the necessity for the fullest measure of political reforms in India, but those of us who have lived on this frontier, and particularly those of us who have served in bodies like the militias and the Frontier constabulary, know that in the quietest time there is a constant pressure on the defence. Somewhere or other it is being tested. Not even in the quietest time dare you run any risk with any part of your defence force.

And the same thing has to be said with regard to roads. You cannot have the precious money which you need for roads spent on all sorts of unnecessary projects, having no connection whatever with the defensive system. The building of roads and bridges and all that sort of thing must still be kept firmly in the hands of the people responsible for defence.

Here then I have given you these one or two examples to show you how difficult the problem is in regard to this frontier. On the one side we have got undoubtedly a genuine desire for political reforms. On the other side we have got genuine reasons why we dare not go the whole length to grant that legitimate desire. And there is another thing that we have got to remember in this connection. You remember what I said about the Frontier Province, the trans-border tract forming the one nexus. That is true. It is administratively impossible to separate the government of the North-West Frontier Province from the control of those tribal tracts. They have got to be in one and the same hand. And there, again, you are up against a very big question indeed in dealing with the tribes. You are up against external relations, foreign relations; it may mean trouble with Afghanistan or trouble with countries farther west. This is another reason why we have got to watch very carefully every step we take in regard to the reforms in the Frontier Province.

I will not deal with the communal side of the matter, for most of us here are fairly well acquainted with it. Naturally the 5 or 6 per cent. of Hindus on the Frontier feel that if the Frontier Province gets a form of government like the Punjab they will be at the mercy of the 95 per cent. of Mohammedans, and their co-religionists elsewhere stand by them in this attitude. However, we will assume all that. These were among the considerations which had to be present in the minds of our people when this question came up at the Round Table Conference. As you know, we had a special Committee of the Round Table Conference to deal with the matter, and the report of that Committee is now available. It occupies only about two pages of a quarto Blue Book, and most of those two pages is taken up with the remark that each of the various subjects under discussion is a matter for examination later on by an expert Committee. Nevertheless, certain broad lines were laid down. The case for reform on the Frontier was fought with very great ability and great pertinacity by Sir Abdul Qaiyum, a famous servant of the Government, and a man for whom everybody has great respect. It went against the grain of every British member of that Committee to refuse anything to Sir Abdul Qaiyum, but nevertheless they had to do it. My own private opinion is that nobody else would have got as much as he got. These external relations weighed with the Committee, and any scheme of reforms had to come within the framework of these absolutely rigid conditions, which we were not prepared to break in any way or at any point. So it was decided that the Frontier Province and the tribal tracts should be each treated on their own merits. It was decided that the Frontier Province should become a Governor's Province—that is to say, when the new reforms come in the North-West Frontier Province will have a Government a Legislative Council and two Ministers—but the Council and the Ministers shall have no say in the administration of the tribal tracts. Those remain administered by the Governor himself, subject to the final control of the Central Government.

Then with regard to the Ministers. As you know, the Ministers under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (and it will certainly be the case under the next reforms) are elected members of the Legislative Council, chosen because they command a majority of the Council. There again we could not go to that length on the Frontier. Two Ministers certainly, but the proviso is that at least one of them shall be an elected member, so it is open to the Governor to choose an official for the other; and of course at first, at any rate, he is likely to do so.

Then with regard to the Council: it was decided that the Legislative Council on the Frontier should be a uni-cameral body. Those of you who followed the Round Table Conference and read the Simon Report

will know that in the Legislative Council of the future the old official bloc, which has been one of the savings of the old system—I speak as a former member of the official bloc in the Indian Legislative Assembly, and perhaps I am biased—that official bloc in the Legislative Councils which has been a great source of strength to the administration, and to the functioning of the reforms, is to go. There will be no official bloc in the Indian legislative bodies under the next reforms.

So much for the Government and Ministers and Legislative Council. The next question is, what about the separation of subjects of administration between the Province and the Government of India? There, again, the Committee have walked very warily, they have laid nothing down except the one very wide and, I think, very sound proposition that those subjects of administration shall be regarded as central under the new reforms—that is, under the control of the Government of India, which obviously have an all-India importance, that gives us a wide range and certainly brings defence and the militias and constabulary under the control of the Governor and the Government of India and not of the Legislative Council and the Ministers.

Next arises the question of the subjects of administration which were to be declared provincial, and here great attention was given to the question of law and order. I have pointed out its intimate connection with defence, and the danger of anything that might lead to a breakdown. So from the first it was insisted upon, and not only by the British delegation but by others, that bodies like the militia and the Frontier constabulary should not be under the control of the Ministers, but should remain central subjects, under the control of the Governor and the Government of India. But the civil police, it was decided, should be made a provincial subject. But I do not think that means we are running any undue risk, because remember what I said about only one of the two Ministers being an elected member of the Council, the other may be an official, and this means that the Governor will be able to call on an experienced official if he thinks it necessary. He may, of course, not think it necessary.

I do not want you to think for a moment that any of these remarks are intended to reflect on the men who will be the Indian Ministers of the future. I have always maintained that in the Western Punjab and the Frontier you get the best breed of men in all India. There is not the least doubt that the Ministers of the Frontier Province will be a model and pattern of their kind. They will be men with very great natural powers of administration. The men in that part of the world make excellent administrators. They will be thoroughly sound, there is not the least doubt, and they will act up to the very best lights they possess. But the whole difficulty will be the lack of experience and the consequent danger that pressure from the Council might lead, not to anything

dishonest, but to mistakes due to inexperience. So it is only common sense to say that the police, at any rate at first, should be under the control of the Minister whom the Governor will nominate.

And lastly, the only other thing I need mention is this. It has been laid down quite clearly that the Governor of the future is to be the real Governor of the Province. He is to be the mainspring and the final power in the Government, and it is suggested that he, in contradistinction to the practice in the rest of India, will preside at the meetings of his own Cabinet.

Those are the main points in the plan of settlement. We are now to have an expert Committee, probably more than one, on the subject, and things like the franchise have not yet been settled, but that in brief is the outline of the scheme which will come into operation, and I hope you will agree with me that it is not going to be a dangerous thing. Our delegates at the Round Table Conference did all they possibly could to give the fullest measure of reform compatible with safety, and I certainly, from my own experience, on and across the Frontier, believe that this is a perfectly sound scheme, and also I hope I have said enough to convince you that in going forward and in agreeing to reforms for the Frontier of this character we have not just been driven by sentiment, or egged on, or nagged on. I hope I have made that clear. (Applause.)

General A. JACOB From my experience on the North-West Frontier I would like to say the lecturer has very rightly laid stress on the problem of defence. It is just as well to remember from which direction all the invasions of India have come—all have come from the north-west, and they go back to Alexander the Great, over two thousand years ago. Till we took over the responsibility for the defence of the country no invasion ever failed. That is a point worth remembering. There is this huge mass of mountains along the Frontier, only penetrated by five passes, the Khyber, the Kuram, the Tochi, the Gumal and the Bolan. There is a railway now through the Bolan and the Khyber Passes and through another of the passes. In the Gumal there is no metalled road, and it is rather difficult to take an army through there. A great many people are under the impression that a frontier of huge mountains is a very strong frontier, but it is not. The strongest frontier is a desert. A mountain frontier can be made very strong provided you have good lateral communications; unless your lateral communications are very good, and you can send troops along the border to any threatened point with supplies and ammunition, the mountain frontier may be a weak one in case of an attack.

We have to be responsible for the defence of India in case of an attack, and we cannot leave it to anybody else. The trouble is that these Indian politicians know nothing of defence, and it does not seem

to interest them. I was talking to a member of the Punjab Council, a very keen Swārajist, and I said, "How are you going to maintain the internal security of India? In the event of serious trouble between Mohammedans and Hindus: what are you going to do?" He said, "Call out the troops." I said, "What troops?" He said, "British." I said, "What about the defence of India from outside aggression? Have you ever thought about that?" And I told him about no invasion having failed in the past for over two thousand years before we took over the defence. I asked, "What do you propose to do about that?" There was no answer to the question. You may say, "With whom are we going to fight?" All countries are sick of fighting now, but it does not mean that in thirty or forty years there will not be fighting.

There is one thing these tribesmen insist on in the officers who deal with them, and that is straight dealing. Amongst themselves it is a different matter, but the last thing they expect is crooked dealing from a British officer, and quite right too. You have got to pick your men and have good British officers as political agents all along this border who will have to deal with these tribes. A thing apt to be forgotten is that one of the first qualifications in the political officer in dealing with these people is not brains; the first qualification is that he should be a gentleman. I do not mean necessarily by birth; I mean in his standard of conduct. (Applause.)

Professor J. COATMAN: I am grateful to General Jacob for following up my remarks with his military knowledge. I am in agreement practically with nearly everything he says, except on the subject of political officers. Some of the finest officers we have had have not been British. I look to that particular part of India for a supply of very good administrators, not only for their own part of India but for other parts. Take a department like the Police, where it is absolutely essential to have not only brains, though they are useful, but character and courage as well. My own personal experience is that the most successful Indian police officers are two or three who have come from the Frontier and the Punjab, and one is in command of the constabulary at one point. I was talking to a soldier the other day, and he mentioned that this particular man is thoroughly popular and is trusted by his own men and by others. With that little *caveat* I agree with most of what General Jacob has said.

The CHAIRMAN: I have only one or two remarks to make regarding Professor Coatman's lecture. He referred to the Municipal Committee at Peshawar; and it only shows how extraordinarily difficult this question of having a Legislative Council in the North-West Frontier Province is. When the municipal election took place at Peshawar the ballot was supposed to be secret, but afterwards everybody said whom they had voted for, the opposing parties proceeded to attack each other, and serious

trouble was only stopped just in time. I suppose that will be the case when there are the other elections; but you must have a beginning.

There are one or two other difficulties about the Province which Professor Coatman did not allude to, though he knows them better than I do. For instance, the North-West Frontier Province is a deficit Province; it does not pay its way. I do not know how it will work when it is a Government Province.

The LECTURER: That is one of the things left over.

The CHAIRMAN: Whatever opinion we may have about reforms, if you are going to give reforms to India, you must give *some* reforms to the North-West Frontier Province. They are the very finest class of people. To refuse them altogether would not be fair or politic, because though we must for strategical reasons keep control over that province, it would be far worse for the whole Province to be seething with discontent when trouble arose.

I have heard Professor Coatman speak on several occasions, and I have never come away without learning a great deal, and I say on this occasion I have learned a lot; I am sure we all have, and we are very grateful to him. (Applause.)

CHINA: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HER TRANSPORT PROBLEMS*

BY MR. SIDNEY MAYERS

THE kind invitation I received to speak on the subject of China was modified at my own suggestion. I was allowed to choose a particular phase of the general subject—namely, the transportation facilities in that country, with special reference to railways. My choice was made for the following reasons: in the first place, it is evident that British trade with China must depend very largely for its expansion upon the means of communication with the interior of the country. For her own purposes of domestic trade the primitive means of transport by road and water-way satisfied requirements well enough so long as the social and economic conditions of the country remained static, but as changes came during the second half of the nineteenth century as the result of Western influences, the lack of modern means of communication was soon found to be a serious obstruction in the way of trade expansion. The cost of moving goods, whether imports or exports, added charges heavy enough to render any speedy development in the volume of trade impossible.

Secondly, the stimulus which eventually resulted in the introduction of some measure of improvement in the means of communication, by the construction of railways, was originally applied by our own countrymen. The disturbance of China politically, socially, and economically, which was occasioned by the introduction of railways, as well as the benefits accruing therefrom, thus had its origin in the activities of our energetic predecessors in the field* of trade with China. Moreover, these activities led ultimately to the investment of much British money in the construction of railways, so reasons are not wanting to support the view that the subject of Chinese railways—remote as it sounds—should be of considerable interest to people in this country.

* Lecture given on April 22, 1931. In the absence of the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, Sir Harry Fox presided.

THE CHAIRMAN: I imagine that Mr. Mayers must be well known to most people in this room, but for the sake of those who do not know him I should like to say that he has been for many years in China, and has had the almost unique advantage of spending part of his time as a British Government official and part as a representative of a great British commercial enterprise. Therefore he has been able to look at questions in China from two different points of view.

A third consideration of a more general nature is that the Chinese Government-owned railways, small as their mileage is for so vast a country, have attracted a most undeniable notoriety in recent years as the chief instrument of civil war. I suggest, therefore, that they form a trustworthy standard by which the general situation of affairs in China can be appraised. If they are working smoothly a considerable part of the country at least may be regarded as peaceful and as affording normal opportunities for trade.

The general character of the railway system in Chinese territory is familiar to most of you, so I will only remind you briefly that in provinces north of the River Yangtze, and in directions running more or less from north to south, it connects the Trans-Siberian railway with Central China by means of two lines in Manchuria—namely, the Chinese Eastern and South Manchurian railways, which are owned and operated respectively by Russian and Japanese companies, and by the Peking-Mukden, Peking-Hankow, and Tientsin-Pukow railways, which are owned and operated by the Chinese Government. In Manchuria other lines of great local importance both economically and strategically form part of the Chinese Government-owned system; while in the provinces of China proper north of the Yangtze, Government-owned lines running in directions more or less from east to west give access to the borders of Mongolia, and connect ports on the coast of the Yellow Sea with the borders of North-Western China.

In Manchuria and in these provinces north of the Yangtze there is, thus, a framework of railway communication, which, with the addition of a few hundred miles of branch lines and the development of roads for motor transportation, would not fall far short of immediate requirements.

In the provinces south of the Yangtze the Government-owned system of railways connects the present capital, Nanking, with Shanghai and Hangchow, and the great southern port of Canton with British territory at Kowloon; but the connection between Canton and Central China by means of the long-projected Hankow-Canton railway still remains incomplete, with a gap of 275 miles in the middle, and with the two terminal sections in need of heavy expenditure for the purpose of re-equipment. Other small lines forming part of the Government-owned system exist in the southern provinces, but their importance until extended is inconsiderable. Mention must, however, be made of another line in Southern China, which is owned and operated by a French company. This is the line from Tongking frontier to the capital city of the province of Yunnan.

The total mileage of these various lines is only 8,000 miles, which, if the population of China is four hundred millions, gives two miles of railway for every hundred thousand inhabitants, as compared with

eleven miles in India per hundred thousand and twenty-eight in Russia. This comparison with two other countries, similarly of vast extent, is in itself sufficient to show how far railway development in China has lagged behind, and how much leeway has to be made up. Moreover, slightly more than 2,000 miles of these railways in Chinese territory—say, a quarter of the whole mileage—is owned and operated by the foreign companies to which I have referred, and about 800 miles, or one-tenth of the total mileage, is owned and operated by provincial authorities or Chinese commercial companies, so that the actual mileage comprising the Chinese Government-owned railway system is little more than 5,000 miles.

The reasons for the slowness of railway development in China must be taken into consideration before an opinion can be formed as to the prospects of greater progress in the future. These reasons comprise firstly her reluctance in the middle of the last century to admit such an innovation as railways. While other countries, Russia and India for example, were being opened up by railways, Chinese conservatism shrank from such a step. Twenty years of British effort to persuade her to allow railway construction to be undertaken appeared to have no result, and indeed had no result, until a new factor tipped the scale. This was the requirement of the Chinese Navy and the China Merchants' Steam Navigation Company for coal. The need for coal from Chinese sources of supply led to the need for means of transporting it to a seaport, and so in the 1840's of last century a beginning was made by British engineers in the service of a Chinese company in coal-mining by modern methods and in railway construction.

The acceptance by the Chinese Government of that day of the principle that railway construction had to be allowed, left entirely unsolved the difficulty of finding the money needed for such costly undertakings. The resources of the small Chinese Company which had started railway construction soon became exhausted. The Imperial Government took over the property of the Company, but soon found that its resources were quite insufficient for any extensive plans of railway development. The Government subsisted on provincial contributions which could not be increased at will, and its only other source of revenue was derived from the Maritime Customs, which were pledged as security for foreign loans raised to meet the indemnity claims of Japan after the war of 1894-5.

The only means of finding money for railway development was, therefore, to borrow it in some form or other from abroad. The misfortune for China was that this need for railway development was only recognized by her leading statesmen at a most inopportune period in her history, and that this recognition was forced upon them much more by strategic than by economic considerations. It was the period

when Russia was pressing eastward with the Trans-Siberian railway, and when she succeeded in shortening the route to her bases at Vladivostok and Port Arthur by acquiring from China the right of constructing railways through Manchurian territory. It was the time also when Germany was seeking a place in the sun, when France was consolidating her colonial empire, of which the frontier of Tongking marched with that of the Chinese provinces, Kwangsi and Yunnan; while the outlook and attitude of our own country, especially towards the East, in that era of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee, were very different from what they are now. Finally, it was the time when China was still crippled by her defeat in war with Japan.

The prevailing idea of foreign diplomacy at that time was to gain concessions of various sorts from China, and in order to avoid rivalry the policy of spheres of influence was adopted. In pursuit of that policy, Russia acquired railway concessions in Manchuria, which passed in part to Japan as a result of the Russo-Japanese War of 1903-4. In the province of Shantung, Germany acquired similar railway concessions, which also passed at a later date to Japan as a result of the Great War, but were subsequently restored to China; while in the province of Yunnan, France acquired the railway concession which has already been mentioned and which is still held. Another concession originally acquired by French and Belgian interests acting in partnership was that for the construction and operation of the railway from Peking to Hankow, but this was terminated by repurchase by China in 1908, almost as soon as construction had been completed.

Before leaving this subject of railway concessions let us be clear as to what the tenure of such rights involves. It means that the foreign companies holding those rights own and operate the railways which they have built. The risks of loss, as well as the profits, are to the account of those companies, while China reserves only the right to acquire possession of the properties at future dates.

The risks involved in such transactions made no appeal to British financiers. British diplomacy had assisted in obtaining for British interests various rights of railway construction which might have been carried into effect as concessions, but another method was preferred. It was to undertake to furnish to the Chinese Government the necessary capital for building specified lines of railway which were to be the property of the Chinese Government from the outset, subject only to a mortgage on the property and a lien upon its earnings. The loan agreements by which arrangements were made for providing the necessary capital stipulated that it should be raised by issuing Chinese Government loan bonds on the London market secured upon the earnings of the railway, and unconditionally guaranteed by the Chinese Government: that is to say, if the earnings of the railway proved insufficient

to meet interest and redemption charges at due dates, the Chinese Government undertook to make up the deficiency from other sources of revenue. Thus the risk of failure and the responsibility for success were to be borne by the Chinese Government. To minimize the risks it was stipulated that British engineers and accountants and other railway personnel should be employed in the higher posts, but the chiefs of



the administration were to be Chinese, and success or failure rested ultimately upon them.

On the whole this method of finance and administration proved fairly successful. The railways were well built at a low cost, trade expanded considerably in the territory traversed by them, and their earnings proved sufficient not only to meet the loan charges but to show a handsome surplus. The British element in the railway staff undoubtedly contributed very largely towards this success, though their presence often gave rise to administrative difficulties, as it was inevitable that their views did not always coincide with those of their Chinese chiefs. This was due to the dual responsibility of their position. Their

infringing on the sovereign rights of China, which is a delicate plant of which we should be careful. But we should be doing China a tremendous good turn if we made some clause of that kind.

During the years Mr. Mayers referred to, from 1918 to 1928, when most of the world was busy beating their swords into ploughshares, China was beating her ploughshares into swords. At that time I was aeronautical adviser to the Chinese Government and responsible for bringing out aeroplanes intended for commercial purposes. Before long those aeroplanes became heavy bombers, in the same way as the commercial railway became a weapon of war. Mr Mayers told us railways in China were almost indestructible, but perhaps he will remember the report of a southern railway, the report said that not only had all the rolling stock been seized by military leaders, but all the rails taken up, and it was feared there would be very serious damage to the permanent way owing to the excessive wheelbarrow traffic. (Laughter) I realize the extraordinary difficulties that are in the way of making things better with Chinese railways, but anything I have said is only said with the idea of trying to improve and help things in China, for some of the happiest years of my life have been spent in that great country.

MR. DONALD MELLOR I should like to ask whether it is a fact that a gap of 275 miles exists between the Canton and the Hankow sections of railway, because I believe that when that line is finished it probably will lead to a great deal of trade and traffic, people would get on at Hankow and go straight through to Peking, through Kowloon and Canton, instead of going all the way round by steamer to Shanghai, then by railway through Nanking and Pukoo to Peking, or steamer to Tientsin and then by rail

I also would like to say that in following out railway building in China I was very much interested in one line. The Kalgan line I believe is the only line in China that has been built—surveyed, constructed and entirely run by the Chinese themselves. It is thoroughly Chinese from A to Z. Again I should like to ask Mr. Mayers how far the railway which is running to the east of Changchun is going in the Vladivostok direction? The Chinese seem to be developing railways considerably to the west of Shantung, in the Manchuria district. They have a line to Tsitsihar now, and from that line a branch line runs across country. Looking at it all round, I think myself that, as Mr. Mayers very aptly said, we Britishers can take to ourselves a good deal of the credit for the start of railways in China. The colliery he mentioned I believe is near Chingwangtao. The first railway ever run in China was started by a British engineer at that colliery, and he had to construct his first locomotive from all sorts of odds and ends, and when he had finished the crude locomotive he had to run it by stealth practi-

cally so as to convince one or two of the Chinese that such a thing was possible. Finally, after a great deal of opposition, railways were started, and started in that particular district, and I think great credit is due to the engineer who first brought it out. Again I thank Mr. Mayers for his lecture.

A MEMBER: May I ask Mr. Mayers one question? Is there any prospect of a railway extension across the Salwin valley joining Burma to the Yangtse valley? I believe the thing has been spoken of in the past, but is there any prospect of it coming on in the next twenty years?

THE LECTURER The first speaker, Dr. Rushton Parker, asked about British enterprise in China. Well, there are here many far more competent than I am to speak generally about commercial enterprise in that country. I think in the railway world in which I was interested there was a great deal of enterprise on the part of British manufacturers, to see to it that Chinese railways took a fair share of their railway material, but the most complete answer to the question raised by the first speaker will be found in the report of the recent trade mission under Sir Ernest Thompson which has just returned, and I must refer him to a study of that. It is not a very long document, and will show what degree of enterprise has been shown in China.

I agree with Colonel Smallwood about roads, and should like to see a great many more miles of modern roads in China. But he will not overlook the fact that if the railways can be made a happy hunting-ground for Tuchuns, the roads can be the same for gunmen. Today every Chinese bandit has an automatic pistol, and I would not care to go motor-touring in China for a long time yet.

The Boxer Indemnity Fund is going to be a considerable help in the first item of the transportation problem—namely, the restoration of the existing railways—but it will fall far short of requirements. I share the apprehension of Colonel Smallwood that some of our beautiful British locomotives and waggons may possibly be used for military purposes. I, too, being a Victorian, would like to have seen provisions to safeguard them from such misuse, but that is thinking in terms of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee time, and such things are not done now. On the subject of aeroplanes, Colonel Smallwood was one of the pioneers in China. It is true I have dealt practically exclusively with railways, though air communication in China is admittedly going to be most important. Already you can get from Shanghai to Hankow in eight hours, instead of taking four days by river. You get into your plane at Shanghai at eight o'clock and are in Hankow at three o'clock in the afternoon. That is a good example of speedy communication, but you cannot carry by aeroplane many soya beans, or hides, or skins, or other commodities which are the exports of China.

The construction of a railway between Burmese territory and Chinese territory has been talked of from the days of Archibald Colquhoun. He was a great exponent of that project. I used to talk to him on this subject in my young days. I sat at his feet, and in those days believed all he said. But it is a total economic impossibility. There is a reference to the project in Lord Ronaldshay's life of Lord Curzon, and I refer you to Lord Curzon's views.

The gap between Canton and Hankow still exists. The northern terminal section comes down from the port of Hankow. It was built nearly twenty years ago by means of a foreign loan, and its history has been nothing but a chapter of misfortune. I think this is the railway alluded to where the rails were taken up. Trespassers go along the line and steal the dog-spikes. The next train comes along, the rails spread, and you have a horrible accident. The southern section from Canton was built by a Chinese company. It was not well constructed at first, but has been put into better order recently. The gap of 275 miles is a very mountainous section, with 60 miles of most difficult country. The Chinese Government is extremely anxious to make that connection, as it has great political importance. I do not very much share the view that it will be a wonderful commercial success. Most of the country traversed is mountainous. If there should be a great development of mineral industry, there are mineral deposits near enough to the railway to make the transportation of mineral traffic very valuable, but simply as a passenger route between Canton and Hankow it will admittedly have a great importance. I do not think that the gentleman who steps into a first-class carriage at Kowloon to go to Peking will be a paying proposition. What you want is plenty of third-class passengers—they are the ones that pay. Whether there will actually be a great coming and going between Canton and Hankow remains to be seen. But the gap exists, and the Government is anxious to have it filled. Optimists say it will cost £3,000,000, and there are others who put the figure much higher than that. The Kalgan railway was built by Chinese engineers. The Kirin-Changchun line has, I believe, been extended, and you are quite right—the Chinese Government railways now have a connection direct with the Trans-Siberian railway without touching the foreign-owned railways. By lines built in the last five or six years one can get right up on to the Trans-Siberian system near Tsitsihar. (Applause.)

A vote of thanks to the lecturer was proposed by General WILLOUGHBY, seconded by Sir CHARLES MORGAN, and very heartily accorded.

THE DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER

BY A. F. ALGIE

A MEETING held on Wednesday, May 6, 1931, at the Royal Society's Hall, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W., Mr. Hale presiding.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Royal Central Asian Society continues to extend the range of its activities. We are accustomed to welcoming from time to time distinguished travellers, archaeologists, political officers, service men and others who give us the crystallized fruits of their experience in Eastern countries. Tonight we may congratulate ourselves on a further extension of our activities, for this is the first occasion that I can remember on which we have ventured into the specialized country of political economy. The subject chosen by our Lecturer is one of very great international importance at the present time. It affects, directly or indirectly, the whole world from China to Mexico. Directly, it affects those silver producing countries, such as the United States and Mexico, whose future prosperity is concerned with silver. It also affects, in the highest degree, the one important country which still bases its exchange on silver. It further concerns our own population in India in so far as that country still buys and sells silver.

The fall in the gold price of silver is one of the most important factors in the present trade stagnation. The proposals emanating from America have recently been the subject of questions in the House of Commons. Mr. Algie's own views on the matter may already be known to some of you from two letters of his which appeared in *The Times* in February and March. Mr. Algie has had active experience in China in currency matters, and I have therefore particular pleasure in asking him to give us his address on the subject of the demonetization of silver. (Applause.)

MONEY as an abstract study is a dry subject, but if it is considered as an adjunct to the launching of great enterprises it becomes alive with interest. The Elizabethan captains wrapped it up with devotion to their Queen and country, yet when they raised money for one of their ships they got no help from constituted authority. It was often difficult for them to equip a ship, yet they looked on it as a means of securing great treasures.

Silver as a monetary standard suffers in much the same way, but if we recognize it as associated with the question of unemployment it becomes electric with interest. I believe that in its solution will be found a partial remedy for unemployment in this country. From this point of view every phase of the crisis through which China is passing becomes of profound importance.

In remarking that popular usage considers money to be wealth Adam Smith, in a vivid passage, tells us that the first enquiry of the

Spaniards when they landed on the coast of America was whether there was any gold and silver to be found in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, he says the Tartars used frequently to ask an ambassador from the King of France if there were plenty of sheep and oxen in the kingdom of France.

In dealing with silver as a means of valuing wealth, we find a sliding rod moving up and down beside another sliding rod; and the rod which should be stationary is that which slides most. How in the world is any one short of a juggler to "fix" the two rods together for more than a passing moment? And yet those trading between Great Britain and China are compelled to pay constant attention to changes in the money market, and trade has become largely a matter of monetary speculation.

It has been related that when Austria's currency was going sky-high, an Austrian bootmaker bought a carload of leather to make into shoes. Whilst he was working the krone fell, and when he sold his shoes he made a profit of several hundred per cent., but with the proceeds found he could only buy half the quantity of leather. He continued the process until the sale of his shoes only brought him enough leather to make one pair of shoes. At this point he was arrested and put in gaol for six months because his books showed he had been profiteering.

Inflation is a will-o'-the-wisp. We remember how complacently Germans regarded the falling currency in the early days of the inflation period. Trade boomed, and the country, generally speaking, was prosperous. But after the crash the whole nation said it had had enough of inflation for all time. Europe had learned her lesson.

Measures taken to maintain Price. - The lesson of silver has not yet been learned.

The metal first began to give trouble in the early seventies, when the German Government withdrew its old silver coins and sold large quantities of silver. Other European countries were forced to suspend the free coinage of silver. As time went on country after country deserted the silver standard. India stood it until 1893, when she could bear it no longer. Japan followed soon after, then came the Philippines, the Straits Settlements, and recently Indo-China has followed suit. Even Mexico created a par between her silver-dollar and the American gold-dollar. Today—although this is not generally recognized—there is only one silver-standard country of any consequence in the world—viz., China.

As silver began to topple, determined measures were taken to steady it. In the year '78 an Act was passed by the United States which required the Government to purchase from 20 to 41 million ounces of silver every year. The Government purchased yearly the minimum

amount, but notwithstanding these purchases the price declined during the next decade, and in 1890 another Act was passed, under which the United States Government was compelled to purchase 54 million ounces a year. The effect of this, coupled with the anticipation that perhaps the free coinage of silver would follow, was a sudden rise in the price, which did not last, and there was a steady decline from this time. In 1893 the Act compelling the purchase of silver by the United States Government was repealed, and the death-blow given to the hope of a bi-metallic currency in the States.

From that time, except for spasmodic recoveries due to exceptional causes like the Chino-Japanese War and the Boxer troubles in China, the course of silver was downwards—until the Great War drove it up to unprecedented heights. Then again, when the price began to decline, desperate efforts were made to arrest its fall. An Act was passed to enable the United States Government to sell to the Government of India, which was in urgent need of silver, part of its great store of silver accumulated during the years of operation of previous Acts; but the new Act stipulated that the silver so lent must be replaced by purchases at not less than one gold dollar an ounce. So that whilst the market price of silver was well below this figure, the United States Government continued for some years to purchase silver at a price much higher. The consequence was a retardation in the fall. But when the last Government purchases were made, the props to silver fell away, and the metal quickly began again to sink downwards.

It is worth noting that all these concerted efforts did not aim at stabilization of the price, but at keeping the price high. The higher the price, the greater the satisfaction of legislators.

Production.—During the period which I have been attempting to describe, very productive silver mines were opened in America and elsewhere. And today between 60 and 70 per cent. of the production of silver is the by-product of a number of other metals. So that whatever the price of the metal, this percentage must be brought to the world's markets. Though this might seem to encourage overproduction, it has apparently done nothing of the kind. The annual average world output today is some 250 million ounces, and the average consumption is some 280 millions. The extra 30 millions has come through Government sales, because during the last decade many European Governments have reduced the fineness of their silver coinage, or demonetized the metal altogether, and the total Government sales of silver from this cause, including Indian sales to which I shall refer in a moment, have averaged during the past three years 58 million ounces, bringing the total supplies of silver from all sources to an average for these years of some 310 million ounces, or some 30 millions beyond the normal consumption. It is not surprising that recognized authorities should

dismiss all other theories, and isolate the sales by Governments as the cause of the recent catastrophic fall in silver prices.

Regulation of Sale.—Many continental Governments, as well as Great Britain, have been sellers of silver. France has recently sold large quantities in the course of establishing a gold standard in Indo-China. Yet there have been attempts in some quarters to fasten the blame for Government sales, and hence the blame for the fall in silver, entirely upon the Indian and British Governments. It is true that the Indian Currency Act of 1927, which established a gold bullion standard in India, has resulted in the sale of some 23,000,000 ounces of silver annually by that Government since that date. But it would be unfortunate if credence was given in China to the statements made in America and elsewhere that India and Great Britain are the cause of the fall in silver, when the responsibility for Government sales is shared by many other countries. In fact, the Indian Finance Minister, in introducing this year's budget, said again, as he said last year, that the Government of India would willingly co-operate if the other interests concerned show any desire to consider the possibility of joint action for the regulating of sales. At the same time he pointed out that the American proposal that the Government of India should cease selling was one-sided, as it was unaccompanied by any proposal to proportionately reduce American output. The Finance Minister might also have added that the criticism did not take into account the action of other Governments. It is dangerous, however, when we are said to be doing acts detrimental to China's welfare.

Of course, the snag is that no one knows how much more the Government of India and other Governments are likely to sell, and as long as this indefiniteness of time and amount hangs over the market, there is small likelihood even of a temporary recovery. It is estimated that the quantity that may yet be sold by the Government of India is some 300,000,000 ounces, but no one knows how much of this is actually likely to come upon the market, nor at what time it may come.

It is clear that indiscriminate and unorganized selling of silver at unselected moments must cause serious fluctuations in the price of silver, and as long as there remains a silver-standard country, the effect upon that country's trade, and also upon international trade as I shall hope to prove, will be of the gravest moment.

Other Factors Causing Depression.—There are, of course, other factors beyond Government sales which depress the price of silver. Take the case of Chinese consumption alone. The fall in world prices eighteen months ago, and the consequent lack of exports from China, diminished the Chinese demand for currency—a demand which had already been restricted owing to the accumulation in the Ports of money

which under settled political conditions would have found its way into the interior. Further, if any of you ever read the newspaper reports of silver you will have noticed frequently, "China came out as a seller"; "China was a seller as well as a buyer." The fact is that China herself is an added depressor of silver, because under her monetary system the banks (as well as speculators) are often large sellers in order to adjust the trade balance; for if imports exceed exports, the banks are forced to sell silver or to procure gold in some other way. This is an additional unsettling cause of fluctuations in silver.

Let me pass for a moment to the currency of China. The Kemmerer Report, presented to the Chinese Government in 1929, says the currency of China is in a chaotic condition. The country has unquestionably the worst currency to be found in any important country of the world.

The only coins which were extensively used in China until direct trade with Western countries began in the sixteenth century were brass and copper *cash* (coins with holes in the middle to permit of their being tied together). These coins were so bulky that a man could only carry on his shoulders the equivalent of a few shillings.

Overseas trade brought foreign dollars, though it was not until 1890 that Chinese silver coins were minted in any quantity. Some of the Chinese coins became debased, but the issues at that time were on the whole of a good touch and fineness. Under the Empire, and later under the Republic, a number of proposals were made for currency reform, but the only concrete accomplishment was the passage of the coinage law of 1914, which provided for the coinage of a silver dollar, or *yuan*, which first bore the head of Yuan Shih-kai, and later of Sun Yat-sen. These dollars have retained their fineness, and circulate freely. The Chinese mints, however, were unable to resist the temptation to overissue and debase the subsidiary coinage. This "small money," as it is called, is at a large discount, and varies in price daily in terms of dollars. There are also copper coins, which vary in terms of silver every day, and even from place to place. For example, on the same day the number of copper coins to one dollar was 315 in Nanking, 298 in Shanghai, 260 in Foochow, and 235 in Canton. The price varies daily, too, in each place. In Shanghai the rate may be 298 coppers one day, 300 next day, and 293 on the day following.

Fiat money issued by military satraps is in circulation. There are also banknotes issued by banks of standing and by banks of no standing. Some circulate only in a particular city or town, others in a particular district; others are issued by employers to their employees. Some of these notes circulate at par, others at a discount. Some are irredeemable. Some are payable in big dollars, some in small money, others again in taels.

For in addition to the confused condition of the coins and the paper money, the currency is also encumbered with a peculiar monetary unit called the tael, which is actually a unit of weight. Physical taels, in the shape of silver shoes, commonly known as sycee, are only found in three centres. But as a unit of account the tael is used in varying degrees in almost all parts of China. There are several kinds of taels, which vary amongst themselves both in weight and fineness. Almost all retail business in the treaty ports is done in terms of dollars, but a large part of the wholesale business, practically all the export trade, and indeed most of the larger transactions of all kinds are in terms of taels. The inconvenience and added expense that this causes is obvious.

Chinese Exchanges.—The Kemmerer Report gives an illustration of peculiar by-paths down which the retail trade of China must travel. A small bill will frequently come to an individual, say for taels 3.17. Before this can be paid in cash it must be converted into dollars at a rate which changes from day to day. If the rate is 71 7 it becomes \$4.42 "big money." To pay this amount in coin involves further complication, depending upon the kinds of coin that happen to be in circulation at the particular place, and the 42 cents being payable in "big money" has to be reconverted into "small money" before it can be paid.

I have endeavoured to draw a rough picture of Chinese monetary conditions. Political conditions have not been touched upon, as they do not directly affect the fundamental question of silver, except in the deplorable restraints misgovernment places upon trade, and the consequent diminished demand for currency. The solution of the silver question does not depend upon stable government. It has proved an insoluble problem to many great Governments, and the stabler the Government the more determined it has been to throw silver overboard.

I have already stated that during the past three years the average annual world supply of silver amounted to some 310 million ounces, towards which the Government of India contributed 23 millions, and sales of other Governments contributed 35 millions. Of this amount China consumed on an average 130 millions, India 87 millions, industries 40 millions, leaving 53 millions to other Governments for coinage purposes, on the assumption that all silver produced is disposed of.

Indian Consumption of Silver.—To consider for a moment the consumption by India, it should be remembered that the free coinage of silver between the years 1873 and 1893 resulted in an excessive issue of rupees, and the closing of the mints did not cause fluctuations in the price of silver—fluctuations had occurred since the early seventies—and it was because of these unpredictable and uncontrollable fluctuations that the Government of India stopped the free coinage of silver.

A reliable work on the economic development of India states: "There is general agreement that the system in force before 1893 had become unsatisfactory, and that the subsequent reforms did effect improvements. The gold exchange standard succeeded in maintaining the exchange value of the rupee, suited the needs of the people, and worked smoothly in normal times. The system was seriously tried on only one occasion during the pre-war period, and then the fault appears to have lain rather with the administrative working of the system than with the system itself."

The same work, "Economic Development of India," by Vera Anstey, says the three unsatisfactory currency periods in India were:

1. Last quarter of nineteenth century, when the rupee exchange dropped.
2. Last two years of the war, when world shortage of bullion dislocated currency.
3. Post-war period up to 1925, when both price and exchange fluctuations caused widespread commercial difficulties and losses, whilst the policy involved the Government in serious direct financial loss, and provoked accusations of manipulation in favour of British interests. The dissatisfaction and suspicion aroused during this latter period also led to far-reaching criticisms of the means eventually adopted to stabilize exchange.

No one would attempt to defend the unsuccessful endeavour to maintain the rupee at 2s. and the disastrous consequences that policy brought in its train, but the controversy today is between a gold-currency and a gold-bullion standard, and between the rate of 1s. 4d. and the rate of 1s. 6d. These questions deal with the administrative working of the gold standard, and are not concerned with a silver standard, which no one in India desires to see restored.

It is sometimes argued that although India has a gold standard, she is in fact a silver-standard country, because large quantities of silver are absorbed by her people. It is said that because the people insist on buying silver the Government of India ought somehow to maintain the price; but whilst no one is more conscious than that Government of the desirability of stabilizing silver, it recollects that open mints in the past failed to do so. It seems better to give every inducement to India's masses to put their savings into a form where the unit is of a non-fluctuating value, instead of attempting the sisyphæan task of stabilizing a metal which the Government itself has discarded as a standard.

Today the gold purchasing power of India is entirely unaffected by fluctuations in the price of silver, because the rupee has been pegged at 1s. 6d. The silver that sinks into the country is hoarded, or used in the arts, and does not return to the market in any quantity. It is not

purchased for the purpose of securing a personal monetary reserve, but for personal pleasure and adornment. Individual family savings are not as a rule of sufficient volume to be made in gold, for it is estimated that the *per capita* income of more than three-quarters of India's population averages about £7 8s per annum. If an individual desires to hoard a personal monetary reserve, he can do so by hoarding minted rupees, which can always be exchanged for their face value. But the hoarding is principally for pleasure and adornment, and is therefore made in silver bullion, which no one knows better than the people of India varies from day to day in terms of rupees.

To put it simply. If a man desires a monetary reserve he will hoard rupees. If he desires to save for personal or family adornment or pleasure he will buy silver and convert it into ornaments.

The statement is constantly made that the East's purchasing power has been cut in half, that eight hundred millions of people have found their savings cut in two. The calamity is great enough without exaggerating its extent. This loose method of talk is readily adopted by those who desire the retention by China of a silver standard, but it beclouds judgment and obscures the fact that it is one-quarter and not one half of the world whose gold exchanges are plagued by the vagaries of silver.

Effect of a Silver Currency on China's Revenues Omitting such areas as Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Arabia, China is the only country left whose purchasing power in the markets of the world is affected by variations in the price of silver, but her actions affect employment in all countries with which she trades.

To look at the effect on China's revenues. Her foreign obligations are practically all in terms of gold, in payment of which she has only silver to offer. Fluctuations in the price of silver leave her national expenditure largely at the mercy of anyone who has it in his power to affect the price of silver. As the amount of silver required to meet gold obligations continuously varies, it is impossible to budget each year's expenditure properly. The cost of £1 sterling has fluctuated during the past twelve years between \$3 and \$22, and has never stayed stationary, so that the Government does not know from day to day what its total expenditure will be. This year the Government will be called upon to pay many more millions than last year, and the same difficulties face the Ministry of Railways. The increase is wholly due to the depreciation in the gold value of silver, and no economy nor care could prevent it. The Government has partly met the situation by collecting maritime customs duties on a gold basis. But a nation may well argue, as did the Hongkong community under similar circumstances, that if its Government flees from silver it should take the community with it.

It is always a matter of surprise to those who picture China in a perpetual state of chaos that the maritime customs revenue continues to grow.

The Chinese revenue from foreign trade in 1928 was \$116,000,000, the following year it almost doubled at \$222,000,000, and last year it was nearly one-quarter more at \$266,000,000. These increases, however, were not due to an increased volume of trade but to the fact that the tariff was increased in 1929, whilst in 1930 the collection of dues on a gold basis came into force. But the fact that the volume of foreign trade has remained practically unaffected is in itself matter for surprise. The explanation given is that there is increased demand for all sorts of foreign products at the treaty ports, and whilst trade with the interior is bad, it is balanced by greater activity in the coastal regions where the floating capital of the country is now concentrated for greater security.

But the revenue from foreign trade in 1930, and even for the early months of 1931, when the receipts reached record figures, represented duties payable on goods ordered before the collapse in silver. A change in the picture has already taken place. There has been a practical cessation of import purchases owing to their increased cost in silver. Chinese importers are faced with the fact that they will have to pay nearly twice as much for the goods now reaching them as they would have had to do if they had paid for them when they ordered the goods last autumn. The merchant who finds himself called upon to pay \$21 for a particular article finds that another merchant has only paid \$15 for the same thing; another has perhaps paid \$17 and another \$19; and the fact stares him in the face that when payment becomes due it may cost another man in the future \$25 or more, or it may cost him \$15 or less. That trade under such conditions has become impossible is evidenced by the many grave warnings of a financial crisis.

And yet it is not the high cost in silver of a pound sterling that obstructs and inhibits trade—it is the unknown fluctuations that lie in the future. A merchant who is unable to say whether his imports will cost him \$21,000 or \$15,000 would, if exchange was pegged at a fixed figure, know exactly what his goods would cost him, and that he could not be called upon to lose or gain a large sum in a monetary gamble. The practical result of this fluctuation in dollar costs is that the retailer adds to his price what he thinks is sufficient to cover him against possible losses, and to that extent he penalizes foreign trade. It is the unknown and unknowable fluctuations in exchange, and not the fall in silver, that is the curse of traders.

It is sometimes said that a falling exchange benefits exports, and that the extra sums paid for imports is counterbalanced by the larger sums received for exports, so that on the whole no damage is done. The practical experience of past years proves otherwise. An exporter

does not benefit by the full drop in exchange, as he cannot always judge rightly regarding its course. And he may find after he has closed his transaction with his agent abroad that he has lost not only his commission, but a sum in addition, owing to a rise in exchange that occurred before he shipped his merchandise. It may be said, Why did he not settle exchange with his bankers at the moment he had closed his transaction with his foreign client? What do the exchange banks exist for, if not to give such facilities to trade? Suppose the bank "settles" exchange for him. The risk is merely passed to someone else. The bank assumes the risk, and the Kemmerer Report says on this point "Fixing exchange forward, hedging by purchases and sales of gold and silver bullion, and other methods of protection against exchange fluctuations are frequently impracticable, or the facilities for them are not readily available. Even when availed of, the burden is often merely shifted to somebody else. If the risk is contracted away and assumed by speculators, these persons must receive a profit for their trouble. They are supported necessarily out of the transactions, and can continue in business only so long as the risks exist."

When civil war ended last autumn, large imports were ordered for which exchange has not yet been settled—that is, the importers do not yet know how much they will have to pay for these goods in dollars. It is this fact that is causing consternation to importers and a stoppage of all further purchases. *The Times* Shanghai correspondent cabled in January "The price of the pound sterling in silver was today over \$21, a rate of exchange which is causing importers extreme dismay . . . there is a risk that the market for foreign products in China will collapse altogether."

In February the same paper's Tokyo correspondent cabled that the Canadian Minister in Tokyo, who had "made a thorough examination of Chinese trade prospects, is deeply impressed with the decay of purchasing power owing to the fall in silver, and fears that the market for foreign goods will cease to exist unless remedial measures are found."

It was even rumoured in Shanghai that the Government was contemplating the declaration of a moratorium on gold loans. *The Times* correspondent cabled "There is no doubt that the taking of such a step has been under consideration, and has been urged by certain foreign advisers of the Government."

A month or so later the Minister of Finance in his annual report was able to speak sanguinely of the balancing (in the absence of unforeseen events) of the Budget in 1932, as he said the repayment of foreign and domestic debt was proceeding at a much greater rate than current borrowing.

It is perhaps not amiss to allude here to the deplorable fact that many foreign loans are in default. It is a lamentable fact that the

assigning of revenues, the bonded word of Government or authority, unless backed by foreign financial control, is no security that default will not occur. The calm repudiation of public and private indebtedness has become a byword.

Effect of the Fall in Silver on China's Export Trade.—There is one aspect of a low exchange that is of especial interest to exporting countries. That is, the possibility that a low exchange may permit China to compete with other exporting countries even within those countries' own boundaries. Cotton goods manufactured in China were gaining access to foreign markets when silver was double the price it is today, which means that China can today receive for the same goods twice as much in silver as she did formerly, and the purchasing power of silver within China's own borders is still practically as good as formerly. The cotton mission of the British Economic Mission to the Far East says: "Every effort is being made by China to reduce her costs of production still further, and definite programmes for the extension of spinning and weaving plants have been adopted. The competition of the mills in China, not only in the China market, but also in the Near Eastern and African markets, will certainly increase."

The fear that a low exchange may permit China to compete with Manchester even within Lancashire's own boundaries is very real. And if this fear has the effect of making people aware of the direct connection between employment in this country and a variable exchange in China, the desire to take remedial steps must inevitably follow. It is not generally recognized that the threatened elimination of China from our export markets is at this moment directly due to the fact that she has not yet stabilized her foreign exchanges. It is only a step from this realization to a recognition of the fact that employment in this country is affected by the absence of stabilization. Mr. J. H. Thomas visited Manchester whilst Minister of Employment, and told the cotton-spinners of Lancashire that he sympathized with the hardships they were enduring owing to the fall in the price of silver. Here he directly connected employment in Lancashire with an unstable foreign exchange in China.

In February last the International Chamber of Commerce met in Paris and passed a resolution urging all Governments which hold stocks of silver, or within whose territories silver is produced, or which can influence the price of silver by their monetary policy, to adopt concerted measures in consultation with the Government of China, to maintain silver on as stable a level as possible.

It is not to be supposed that China traders have sat silently all these years under the disabilities and inhibitions of a fluctuating exchange. When silver dropped at the beginning of this century to the then unprecedented price of 21d., traders in China, who had seen

their 5s. piece melt into 4s., and then into 3s., began to be disturbed when the coin threatened to become only worth 2s. Great agitation arose for the stabilization of exchanges on a gold basis, and several schemes were drawn up. The Foreign Chambers of Commerce urged a settlement, and were supported by the great Chambers of Commerce in this country. Even the Chinese Government itself was galvanized into action, and at its request three American Commissioners were appointed by the United States Government. The Commissioners recommended the adoption of a gold standard, but nothing was done. And though the Chambers of Commerce year after year kept the question in the foreground, no settlement was made.

It is noteworthy that none of the Chairmen of the great Eastern exchange banks at their recent annual meetings propounded a remedy for silver. They all emphasize the gravity of the situation, but leave remedies severely alone.

What are the remedies that are proposed?

There are three proposed remedies for silver

1. Raise the price
2. Stabilize the price
3. Grant a large silver loan to China

To deal with the first of these. If the inference be correct that it is Government sales of silver that have provided a surplus supply of the metal, then the regulation or limiting of Government sales will mean that the market will not be flooded with unwanted supplies. To what extent this would raise prices is problematical. It would probably do so, and the market would be expected to revert to its long career of fluctuating values instead of declining values. Some people would say that this is no remedy at all, but a palliative for a chronic disease.

A plan for sustaining the price has been made by the chairman of an American smelting company, which he supports by figures of supply and consumption. His recommendations for agreed Government sales and purchases do not actually aim at stabilization, but at maintaining the price—an aim which would leave the evils of fluctuation untouched. But it is regrettable that the British and American Governments have apparently decided not to convene an international conference, for until a better remedy is provided an agreement regarding Government sales is most desirable. The American scheme shows from figures that during the past three years the total mine production was not sufficient to meet the demands of India and China plus the demands for industries, so that the sales of Government-owned silver would be needed to supply the demands of those Governments who are still buying silver for coinage. Therefore, it is argued, agreed Government purchases and sales should balance each other, and would eliminate selling pressure on the price.

Difficulties of Stabilization.—To deal with the second remedy—stabilization. The stabilization of the price, whether at a low or a high figure, would solve the problem, but would seem to be dependent upon some form of international bi-metallism. Such an achievement would seem an impossibility. Those who advocate it recommend means that the world has rejected. Why have all other Governments rejected silver?

The third proposal is that an international silver loan of the equivalent of some £200,000,000 should be made to China, presumably on the theory that the remedy is "the hair of the dog that bit you." The ostensible object is to increase the purchasing power of China, and for that purpose it is proposed to pour more silver into the exchequer. Such addition of silver to China's stocks would undoubtedly have the effect of raising the price, but it would do nothing towards preventing fluctuations, in fact the effect would in the end be unsettling, as the loan would have to be repaid in gold. That the loan would benefit silver producers is evident; but the Chinese Government, in so far as it has spoken, has rejected the proposal, which it recognizes is not in the interests of China. Foreign opinion in the East is of the same opinion. It would seem that for the present the possibility of such a loan may be ruled out, although the Pittman resolution recommending the loan has been laid before President Hoover with the approval of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The probability is that it will there rest.

Is there, then, no solution of the silver problem?

I believe that it is necessary to recognize that the problem is unsolvable, and that its solution is unnecessary. In other words, the solution is to abandon silver as a standard of value and leave it to its fate.

There are many indications that the next economic step that China will take will be to attempt the stabilization of her exchanges on a gold basis. In this task she will need the whole-hearted co-operation and assistance of the Powers, and it is to be hoped that if she does take that step we shall be amongst the first to aid her. Experts tell us that no solution of stabilization can be reached except on a gold basis. The Kemmerer Report says: "There is not much disagreement among thinking people in China and abroad as to the desirability of China's bringing her monetary standard into equilibrium with the money standard of most of the rest of the world by placing her currency on a gold basis." Six out of the seven projects submitted to the Chinese Government during the past thirty years have recommended the adoption of a gold standard. The Kemmerer Report, whilst not minimizing the difficulties, affirmed the practicability of stabilization. And whilst the fall in silver since that report was issued increases the difficulties, they are not insurmountable.

A Gold Exchange Standard.—I shall not attempt to describe minutely the various schemes that have been submitted to the Chinese Government in great detail for the adoption of a gold standard. Some of them have been drawn up by financial and banking experts of well-known repute and experience. The latest scheme does not provide for the minting of gold coins. Nor does it require the circulation of gold, but it provides for the maintenance of the parity of all coins with the value of a fixed gold unit.

Doubt as to the practical ability of the Government to enforce the necessary changes, added to a not unreasonable aversion to an increase in the demand for gold, has withheld wholehearted assistance being offered by other Governments to these projects of reform.

As regards the first objection, the Chinese Government alone can determine the time when the application of the change is possible. As regards the second, the Kemmerer Report says: "China's adoption of the gold standard would probably augment the world's demand for gold much less than most people think because of her small *per capita* circulation of money, and because the form of the gold standard proposed for China does not require the circulation of gold coins. The problem of gold stabilization is one of the most important economic and social problems in the world today—perhaps the most important one—but it is a problem for the world and not for one nation."

It seems that Europe, which became so alive to the evils of inflation amongst its own States, has perversely closed its eyes to the very same evils amongst one-quarter of the population of the globe.

The Cotton Commission of the British Economic Mission to the Far East has rightly urged on manufacturers the necessity for reduction in costs, but I would point out that a reduction in costs fades into insignificance before a variation in one day of 20 per cent. in exchange.

There is a Chinese proverb which says that "the tiger from the eastern hill and the tiger from the western hill both devour the lamb."

Let it be admitted once for all that no permanent solution of China's economic difficulties can be reached until her foreign exchanges are stabilized.

The fact that the exchange value of the Chinese dollar fluctuates daily is a direct cause of unemployment in this country, because the increase, diminution, or stoppage of Chinese buying is directly caused by the vagaries of her exchanges. Given a stabilized exchange, the demand for our products would cease to be intermittent, because the cost of China's purchases would only be affected by the variation in producers' costs and by the seasonal demands of her own trade. If one-quarter of the world's population carries on its trade with a measuring rod which alternately contracts and expands, it stands to reason that the remaining three-quarters of the world must suffer in every trading relationship

with her, and it is the needless variations in that relationship which causes alternately demand and lack of demand for the labour of men's hands in this country.

In those countries where a gold standard has been adopted—in Japan, the South American countries, British dependencies—the result has been a raising of the standard of life, followed by a general improvement in economic well-being.

Even a slight raising of the standard of life in China would increase the demand for world products to an undreamt-of extent. We know from the Simon Report how low is the standard of life in India, yet the *per capita* circulation of currency in India is 14s. 6d., whilst in China it is estimated to be 7s. 6d.

The British Economic Mission says of future prospects of trade with China: "By nature for the most part peace-loving and industrious, the Chinese, if they could enjoy the blessings of tranquillity for a short period, would quickly produce sufficient wealth to give them a buying power which would do more to counteract the results of the present under-consumption of the world's products than almost any other conceivable factor."

To sum up, I will state as my opinion that the talk of stabilizing silver is futile, and merely distracts attention from the necessity for establishing over the whole world one standard of value as a step towards untrammelled international valuation of commodities.

MR. S. F. MAYERS: Mr. Algie, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first man on these occasions always gets the best of the wicket: he has the opportunity of preparing what he wishes to say. I had the privilege quite recently of addressing the members of this Society, and the discussion after my lecture, which was on another subject connected with China, was opened by a member who said that he felt himself qualified in one respect at least to open the discussion—because he probably knew less about the subject than anyone else in the room. I cannot claim an entire unfamiliarity with the subject of silver; anybody who has lived in China for many years must be familiar with its extraordinary fluctuations which impede commercial transactions and have been for many years a great obstacle to trade, as Mr. Algie has pointed out. The reflection I have had in listening to Mr. Algie's extremely able presentation of the silver question is that he appears to me to have laid not enough emphasis upon the cause of the fall in silver. I recall one phrase of his: he said that in a certain year "silver began to give trouble." Well, silver had been used by humanity for two thousand odd years without giving trouble until humanity began to meddle with it, until humanity began to discard it from use. Mr. Algie laid emphasis upon the sales by Governments of their dis-

carded silver—those potential sales which are like a cloud over the whole market horizon, nobody knowing when the cloud is going to burst—and that, as Mr. Algie has pointed out, is one of the great contributing causes in the recent fall in the value of silver. But I do not think he emphasized the effect of abandoning the use of silver, nor did he explain to us what good reasons can be adduced, as one looks back upon the history of the past fifty years, to justify that abandonment. I recall that he asked the rhetorical question, "Why should Governments use silver? Governments have abandoned silver, why should they return to it?" But he did not furnish us with an answer to that question, and that is a point upon which I would like him to enlighten us. Here is this excellent metal which has served humanity since the dawn of history. For coinage purposes it was abandoned as a measure of value by Great Britain a little over a century ago, but was maintained by all other countries up till 1873, when, as a post-war measure after the Franco-German war, Germany saw an advantage in giving up its use, and, as Mr. Algie has told us, by gradations the other countries gave it up. I would like to have a reflection of views from Mr. Algie as to whether in retrospect it can fairly be said that this was a wise measure, and I would like to ask him if he agrees with me, that if the metal were more used for currency purposes, would that not go far to stabilize its value? He has told us that the annual production rests round about the figure of 250,000,000 ounces. Many specialists who have written papers on the subject recently have drawn attention to the extraordinary phenomenon that the ratio of silver and gold production has a peculiar habit of remaining fairly constant in quantity somewhere about fourteen or fifteen to one. Now, if the metal were used again freely—if instead of having silver coinage here in England, as we now have, of only five hundred per mille fine, we had those respectable silver coins we used to be so proud of up till 1920—we know by recent information conveyed in the House of Commons that this alone would consume 70,000,000 ounces of silver. Mr. Algie's market amount last year was, so far as I can recall, 310,000,000 ounces. I think he said that was the available stock, leaving a margin of about 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 ounces hanging over the market, and constituting the factor weakening the exchange value of silver. Mr. Algie has been so perfectly clear in his conclusion that there is nothing to be done about silver, that I feel I am asking him to cover ground which he has already covered in his own mind and abandoned as impracticable; but there are other students of the case who are not so certain that the only salvation lies in China adopting some sort of a gold standard. I do not think the world has any reason to feel very proud of the way the gold standard works now. It seems to be giving the financiers of the world a good deal of trouble. It evidently does not work quite

as well as theory would expect it to work, and I raise the question whether the placing of another 400,000,000 people on some form of gold standard is necessarily the height of wisdom? I take it that one of the main factors necessary to achieve success would be a well-organized central banking system in China, and I see no immediate prospect of that appearing. There is a central bank there, but I have not yet heard that it has reached the standard of central banks in other countries. I would like Mr. Algie's opinion on that point, as to whether China, in adopting the ideas placed before it by the Kemmerer Commission, could conceivably carry them out effectively without the existence of a really well-organized central bank. I have been privileged to hear several eminent authorities speak on the subject of silver recently. I have noticed that all of them dismissed as almost beyond the attention of experts any question of doing anything about silver. They have not given any reasons, and I think I may fairly claim that Mr. Algie did not give any reasons as to why nothing can be done about silver. You might use it, for example. If you have a commodity like silver, which you do not produce by tapping a tree or planting a seed, which you can only get by mining silver ore, or as a by-product of copper and other metals, which you know by experience has not an unlimited possibility of production, and which is in itself a very useful metal for coinage purposes, I hear no answer to the question as to why it is not more used; and I have been encouraged to feel that an answer to that question is due, by listening to an eminent banker here in the City of London. After two successive meetings on the subject he got up, after everybody else had pooch-pooed the idea of being able to do anything about silver, and he followed them by saying: "I quite agree with all that the previous speakers have said, but of course if we all took to using it again it would make a great difference." I would like Mr. Algie to comment upon that. He may be perfectly right that experts have determined that nothing can be done about silver. But in my own mind I still ask myself the question whether they have not said that because it would mean retracing steps which have been taken in the past, and this retracement of steps might possibly show errors of judgment in the past. Those concerned in trade with China, or finance with China, I think view with indifference what is done to stabilize Chinese exchanges: that is the object that they strongly desire to see brought about, whether by gold exchange standard or by some remedial measures applied to silver; but the effects of instability on trade and finance connected with China are so deplorable that the nature of the remedy is a matter of indifference to the people concerned. On the other hand, they, I think, are justified in a feeling of impatience that when the grave difficulty of the present time is put before Governments in this country and in America, all that they see is a game of long

bowls being played between these two Governments. The Senate, as Mr. Algie has said, has passed a resolution in America advocating an international conference on the subject, and a few days later we learn authoritatively that the American Administration has not the slightest intention of convening such a conference. Requests have been placed before our own Government here to take into consideration the convening of an international conference, and they have said that while they were perfectly sympathetic, and would gladly take part in an international conference, they also have not the slightest intention of convening one. Beyond that nothing is said and nothing is done. I would like Mr. Algie to tell us, if he can give us this information, whether there is any prospect of any other country succeeding in calling an international conference on the silver question, and if not, whether any information has reached him regarding the probability of the Governments in the principal countries affording that concerted assistance of which he spoke as being necessary to China if any effect is to be given to the recommendations of the Kemmerer Commission. (Applause.)

MR. LINDSAY Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I wish to add my tribute of praise to that of the last speaker, and to thank you, sir, for having selected a speaker who has spoken to us so lucidly and clearly on a very difficult subject. Now, sir, my interests in this question are very closely connected with India, and as a loyal subject and a dutiful officer of the Government of India I had come prepared to defend the policy of that country against all comers. But I am very glad to find that that rôle is not going to be required of me, and that Mr. Algie has discussed the monetary policy of the Government of India with the greatest fairness. There is one point on which I should like him to have followed Sir George Schuster's speech a little further. If he had turned to a paragraph or two later in that speech—the last Budget speech of the Finance Member—he would have seen that Sir George dealt with silver in its position *vis-à-vis* other commodities—that is to say, as a commodity—and drew attention to the fact that during the past five years the price of silver had fallen very nearly parallel with the prices of tin, lead, spelter, and copper. From that lesson Sir George concluded that silver, like other commodities, must be falling as a result of some great major cause which affects all commodities alike. That pointed to the fact that our great problem nowadays is to find out what that major cause is. One will find that it is not at all confined to the metals, but affects almost every market of the world. Now, sir, people ascribe this great world fall of prices to various reasons: some to the Wall Street collapse, and some to the stickiness, shall I say, of that alternative precious metal—gold. We in India have found that one of the greatest reasons and causes for depression is the enormous gap which exists between the prices of the

raw materials which we produce and export and the prices of the manufactured goods which we so largely import. That, I think, is generally accepted—it is certainly accepted among agricultural countries, who chiefly suffer, as one of the primary causes of the present depression. And, of course, there is another scarcely less important cause of depression nowadays, and that is the fact that we always tend to compare ourselves with the position that we occupied before the war. Pre-war the dominant factor was that we had behind us fifty years and more of peace. I do not say that it is going to take as long before we return to stability, but certainly those fifty years had a great deal to do with the stability of pre-war times; and it seems to me almost axiomatic that our return to normal conditions, whether it be long or whether, as we all hope, it will be short, will be not so much a return to pre-war stability, but to stability on entirely new lines which are being carved out for us now, and which we also in various ways are helping to carve out for ourselves. I conclude by thanking Mr. Algie for having given us a lead in precisely that direction—that is to say, that the hope for the future appears to be rather more in the direction of the universal adoption of a gold standard than by going back and trying to re-learn the lessons of a silver standard, which have already been learned, and which have let us down as they are letting China down at the present moment.

Colonel SMALLWOOD. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rather think with Mr. Mayers that it is a mistake to suppose that China would be better with a gold standard than with the silver standard she has today. Mr. Algie has referred to China as one country, almost the only country left, that is still on a silver basis. China is really not a country but a continent, and we can say that a quarter of the world is still on a silver basis. If one uses the expression "one country" it is a little bit misleading. The Kemmerer Commission, I think, was essentially American in composition, and I rather look with a certain amount of suspicion on the conclusions that they came to. The idea of the large silver loan to China was, I think, entirely American, and it is quite obvious that it would be very much to the advantage of America if China would agree to such a loan. But I do not think it would be good for China, and I do not think there is the least chance of its coming. There is a Chinese proverb that you cannot prevent the birds of sadness from flying over your head, but you can prevent them nesting in your hair—I think the Americans in this case are the birds of sadness who wish to nest in the hair of China. It is with a good deal of diffidence I make the following suggestion, but I have an idea which is shared by a good many other people who have thought about the subject, and that is that there is one way in which the Chinese silver position could be improved. I am definitely against

China going on the gold basis for this reason, and that is that I do not think she is the least capable of controlling a series of banking operations which may take place in Szechuan or some other wild and woolly part of China. She could not possibly control those banking transactions, and until she can do so I do not think she can put a gold basis into operation. My panacea—I hope people will not laugh at it, because I believe there is something in it—is that I should like to see the Chinese Government take up the position of being the sole importer of silver into China. That may sound revolutionary, but I think it is possible. The one part of China that is controlled is the coastal ports by the Customs. The whole of the goods that enter into China have to pay a duty. Suppose to those goods we were to add the metal silver, she would be able to control that to an extent because she has Customs Collecting stations in all ports. There would be a certain amount of smuggling, but I believe she would get over that. Supposing, for instance, a firm owes a merchant, or bank, or Government a certain amount of money, that debtor today can go into the open market, buy silver, and pay off his indebtedness with that silver. Supposing he was compelled to purchase that silver from the Chinese Government, he would have to pay a fixed rate for it, and I think in that way the Chinese silver basis would be a real basis, and not the one of intense fluctuations of today. Like everybody who has been in China, I have suffered terribly from the fluctuations in silver, but I believe this is one possible cure, which merits the very greatest attention and research. I do not know whether it has ever been considered in India, but I believe it has possibilities in China, and I should very much like to hear if Mr. Algie considers that matter is a possible undertaking.

One more point I wanted to bring forward. I do not think the world generally has paid sufficient attention to the fact, as Mr. Algie pointed out, that 60 or 70 per cent. of the world's supply of silver comes as a by-product. I think that one of the greatest dangers that silver has to face. You cannot say that silver is now below the cost of production. It is below the cost of production of ordinary silver mines, but it will be a long time before it will be below cost of production as a by-product of lead, etc. I believe that supposing my idea was carried out and the Chinese Government were the only importer of silver, and if she could make some arrangement with India, it would remove the awful cloud of the uncertainty of the silver supply which hangs over the world. If she were the only importer she could go to the Government of India and say: "Please don't put your silver on the market but let us absorb it gradually"; and I think that would help the whole situation enormously. But I should very much like to hear if Mr. Algie thinks it all nonsense.

Sir JOHN MITCHELL (*communicated*): I am glad to have an opportunity

of thanking the Royal Central Asian Society for the privilege of hearing Mr. Algie's lecture on the demonetization of silver—a matter that interests me greatly from its bearing on the currency of the world.

All who were in India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century can sympathize with the difficulties in China, so forcibly described by Mr. Algie. They were the witnesses and often the victims of an unsettlement of a similar kind, though possibly on a less serious scale, in India. The best solution which that country was able to find was the introduction of a gold exchange standard. There can be little doubt that Sir David Barbour would have preferred to rehabilitate the rupee by a return to the bi-metallic system, which the action of Germany had overthrown. Both financiers and politicians would have nothing to do with anything so unintelligible as bi-metallism—unintelligible in spite of having been in existence and worked excellently for generations; and therefore, I believe, though I have no evidence of the fact, Barbour fell back on the gold exchange standard as a *pis aller*. Mr. Algie, as I understand him, would have China adopt a similar solution. He demonstrated conclusively the difficulties that confront the authorities, the bankers, and the merchants owing to the extraordinary fluctuations in the value of silver, and especially its recent fall. Nothing paralyzes business more than uncertainty, and a gold standard would undoubtedly prevent extreme fluctuations and so would remove one great difficulty that now impedes the foreign trade. But even a gold standard would not get rid of the difficulties altogether. Australia has a gold standard, but the difficulties of the Australian exchange are notorious. And Australia will afford an illustration to show that those who fix their attention on exchanges alone may fail to give due attention to more fundamental matters. Mr. Algie noted the impossibility of carrying on trade when silver might fall with a bump to half of its former value, but an Australian wool-grower is in exactly the same position in spite of his gold currency; the price of his product has dwindled to less than half of what it was some little time ago. His purchasing power has been affected as seriously by the fall in the price of wool as has the Chinaman's by the drop in silver. The same thing applies, though perhaps to a less extent, to the growers of wheat in the Empire and at home, and, to a much more serious extent, to the growers of rubber and sugar. Producers of metals have a similar tale to tell. It is not merely that all these producers have had their purchasing power curtailed, but that the burden of their liabilities has been immensely increased and, if the fall in prices continues, not only will their purchasing power disappear but bankruptcy will be inevitable. The establishment of a gold standard in China would do nothing to remedy this state of affairs. On the contrary, it would have a prejudicial effect on the world generally by increasing the burden thrown on gold, and so

accentuating the fall of world prices which has already caused so much suffering.

But if a gold standard has been good for India, why, it may be asked, should a similar policy not benefit China? To this I would reply by raising the previous question—has a gold standard been an unmixed boon to India? Undoubtedly for many years it kept the exchange value of the rupee steady, and this was an immense benefit to the Government, to the European servants of the Government, and to foreign trade. But no one, so far as I know, has ever examined the repercussions on the internal trade of the country. That is a matter which economists, statisticians and, I fear, all of us, neglect. Our attention is apt to be concentrated on foreign trade, for which we are able to compile statistics on which bankers, merchants, and the Government base their calculations and reckonings. But it is the internal trade which affects the interests of the masses, on which the prosperity of the country depends, and it is questionable whether the gold standard has been a boon to the masses of India. In ordinary times it is difficult to say how the burden of maintaining the gold standard is distributed: one can judge only by what happens in extreme cases, and an extreme case occurred in India after the war, when the Government attempted to act on the recommendations of a strong committee as to the fixation of the gold value of the rupee. The attempt failed, but it cost the people of India many millions sterling before it was abandoned. That was the direct cost to the State, what the indirect cost to trade may have been, in addition to this, there is no means of knowing.

The establishment of a gold standard in India was thus an advantage to the merchant and the European official, and almost a necessity to the Government, but it certainly was not without drawbacks in its reaction on internal trade and the contentment of the masses. European financiers will not hesitate to aver that the advantages preponderated. I think myself that the matter is open to reasonable doubt, and look forward to the time when some Indian economist will examine the question from the Indian standpoint.

Mr. Algie has not dealt with the possible reactions of his proposals on the masses in China. As one who believes that the general acceptance of the gold standard by the nations of the world is the main, if not indeed the sole, cause of the present universal depression, I think it would be rash of the Chinese to put their necks into the golden noose, in which other nations are being slowly strangled. Not only might it be bad for them, but it would make the noose still tighter for the rest of humanity. Better for China to bear the ills it has than to fly to others that it knows not of.

Mr. Mayers advocates the rehabilitation of silver. I agree with him that any such measure would greatly relieve the situation, not

only in China, but also for the rest of the world. But I must not allow myself to stray into the intricate maze of bi-metallism.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Algie has very interesting matter to reply to. My own feeling is that, if China wants to close her market to silver or put it under Government control, we should be the last to object. We were the first to begin the demonetization of silver and the Continent followed, led by Germany and France. Mr. Algie, I noticed, did not say much about Persia; I think he accepted the transition to the gold standard there as an accomplished fact. It is not that yet, but Persia expects it to be so within the next year—probably this year. But, in any case, the quantity of silver in that country probably does not exceed 100,000,000 ounces, so it is not of the first importance.

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, the first thing I can say is that I think the Chairman, as he is interested in Persia, might tell us why Persia is going to adopt the gold standard?

The CHAIRMAN replied that the demonetization of silver was one result of the price of commodities being raised within historical times. Why had we ourselves given up silver? Because its unit of value was not sufficiently high in exchange. Silver had been a convenient means of exchange and measure of value centuries ago, but with increasing prices we found it better to adopt the gold unit. As time went on other countries followed suit, and it could only be a matter of time before China at last adopted the gold standard.

Mr. ALGIE said that China also desired a stable unit, and it was the desire to escape from fluctuations that urged her towards a gold standard. He agreed with Mr. Mayers that mistakes had been made in the past. It was possibly true to say that if the German Empire had not been established, and if it had not demonetized silver and been followed by other nations, we might still be enjoying a stabilized price for silver. But we had to face facts as they were today, and to deal with the fact that silver *had* been demonetized. He did not think that, even if all Governments increased the fineness of their silver coins and used silver more largely for currency purposes, more good would result than raising the price—fluctuations would continue as before. And after a few years, when the extra Government demands for coinage improvement had ceased, we should again revert to the same conditions as today an excess of supply over demand. He thought that it was undesirable to discuss details regarding the establishment of a gold standard. Let us first agree that stabilization on a gold standard is necessary, and then we can discuss and criticize the steps by which it is proposed to carry out the project. He did think, however, that the great progress the Chinese had made in modern banking experience and knowledge did not preclude the possibility of a satisfactory centralized bank. One difficulty of absorbing in coinage consumption an increasing amount of silver was its bulk. It was not possible for a man, whatever

might be possible for the other sex, to carry in his pocket more than a pound or so of silver. In reply to Mr. Mayers' question as to how Britain and the Powers could co-operate with China, Mr. Algie said that he thought help would probably come through the Bank for International Settlements or the League of Nations, and we should be able to assist through Basle or Geneva in granting the loans necessary for the establishment. The Government of India has already offered to co-operate, and only awaits the acceptance of the offer. With regard to what indications there are that China may adopt a gold standard, Mr. Algie said the Chinese Press had been full of accounts of Sir Arthur Salter's visit to China, and the possibility of a loan of £100,000,000 sterling under the auspices of the League of Nations for the establishment of a gold unit. The Chinese Economic Conference at Nanking in 1928 recommended gold, so did the Kemmerer Report. The Minister of Finance has frequently voiced the necessity for obtaining an equilibrium between silver and gold. The Chinese are becoming very awake to the disastrous consequences of adhering to silver in opposition to the whole of the rest of the world. It seemed that political conditions alone prevented the immediate adoption of reforms. There is no doubt that the will for reform exists if the opportunity arises.

Mr. Lindsay had drawn attention to the fact that silver was a commodity and fluctuated in price like other commodities, which was not the case with gold. As he pointed out, the imperative need was the adoption of a universal standard of value.

Mr. Algie reminded Colonel Smallwood that the recommendations to adopt a gold standard did not solely emanate from the Kemmerer Commission; that Commission terminated a long series of recommendations from other authorities recommending a gold basis. Six out of the seven projects submitted to the Chinese Government since 1903 recommended a gold standard; the only one that recommended silver was contained in Imperial Edicts issued by the Emperor Kwang Hsu. He did not think that Colonel Smallwood's suggestion that the Chinese Government should be the sole importers of silver would assist matters at all. It would simply mean that the banks and other buyers of silver would be replaced in the London and American silver markets by the Chinese Government, and fluctuations in the price would continue as merrily as ever. Closing the mints to the free coinage of silver would be one of the first steps necessary for the establishment of a gold standard, but it would be useless unless it was a step towards such an establishment. The question whether the Chinese Government could buy direct from the Government of India overlooked the fact that at present there is free coinage in China, and additions to silver currency are not made by the Government. In any case the sales by the Government of India have only been about 8 per cent. of world supplies, and

the price would fluctuate quite apart from any agreement between the Indian and Chinese Governments.

Replying to Sir John Miller, Mr. Algie said that Sir John had covered a very wide field, and some of the points he had raised had, he thought, been already answered in his paper. He did not think it was reasonable to take Australia as an instance of the failure of the gold standard, because everyone acknowledged that Australia had for years been living beyond her income on borrowed money, and now had to pay the piper. It was not the gold standard that had caused the crisis in Australia, but the stoppage of exports. The Australian's lack of purchasing power was due to the fall in the price of wool, whereas the Chinese lack of purchasing power was due to the fall in the price of wool, plus the fall in the price of silver. The difficulties of wheat-growers, and the difficulties of rubber, sugar, and metal-producers, were limited to variations in produce prices, and the bankruptcy which Sir John foresaw, would have long ago occurred if to the losses on produce prices had been added losses caused by a fall in the purchasing value of silver.

As the speaker had said in his paper, he was of opinion that the fear of a future world gold shortage should not be used as a weapon to prevent a present-day adoption of a gold standard by China. A preliminary step to the solution of our difficulties lay in a common world-standard of value.

Mr. Algie maintained that the gold standard had been beneficial to India, although he admitted many ills had followed the mal-administration of that standard. Sir John admitted that the gold standard had been good for Indian foreign trade, and then proceeded to ask whether foreign trade benefited the country. Here he would surely be impugning the very basis of international trade. If an increasing margin between wages and the cost of living is any indication of benefits to the Indian masses, then the figures published by the Government of Bombay in the Labour Gazette show a progressive improvement in the standard of life under the gold standard. Retail food index numbers since 1914 show a smaller increase for India than for any other country except South Africa and the Netherlands. And whilst the general level of prices of all commodities has been declining in all countries (including India and America) since 1920 under a gold standard, they have been steadily rising in China under a silver standard.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I personally have found this one of the most stimulating meetings I have ever been at. I am sorry the attendance has not been bigger. Perhaps it makes up in quality what it lacks in numbers. It has been a very interesting survey from various points of view. I ask you to give Mr. Algie a hearty vote of thanks. (Applause.)

WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY WILL MEAN TO US

BY SIR HARRY FOX, K.B.E.

(Late Commercial Counsellor to H.B.M.'s Legation, Peking.)

A MEETING of the Royal Central Asian Society (in which is incorporated the Persia Society) was held on Wednesday, May 27, at 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, when a lecture was given on "What the Surrender of Extraterritoriality will Mean to Us," by Sir Harry Fox, K.B.E. The Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.F., presided.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We are here today to welcome Sir Harry Fox, who is going to give us a lecture upon what the loss of extraterritoriality means to us in China. For the last thirty-five years Sir Harry has been closely connected with affairs in China, not merely as a spectator, but as an important actor on the Chinese stage. I will not say anything myself, as I know too little about China, but I have some very definite views about extraterritoriality. I have seen the disadvantages which, as I think, a misguided policy as regards extraterritoriality has had in many parts of the world. All the more important is it for us to recognize what the position will be in China, both economically and politically, once extraterritoriality is gone. However, I will content myself with introducing Sir Harry Fox and welcoming him here to the Central Asian Society, of which he is a distinguished member. (Applause.)

MY LORD, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—On looking at the title of my address, I hope you will not think I have brought you here under false pretences. The subject is a highly controversial one, and the more I pondered over the question the less sure I was that I knew myself what the surrender of extraterritoriality (I will use the abbreviated form of this cumbersome word to save time) *will* mean.

I shall endeavour first to explain to you why the Chinese Government feel so strongly about this question of the "unequal treaties," why the foreign Powers concerned have so far been unable to agree to surrender the extraterritorial rights of their nationals in China, and lastly, how British residents in that country will be affected when they find themselves under Chinese laws and administration and the "Treaty Ports" have become a "tale that is told."

Please understand that I speak with no official authority whatsoever, and that I am merely trying to tell you how this question, just now of such absorbing interest to our countrymen in China, appears to one who has spent the best part of his life in that country, and has perhaps had exceptional opportunities of observing the conditions under which foreigners and Chinese live, both in the Treaty Ports and what we call the Interior.

What, then, does "extrality" mean? It is the system under which foreigners are subject to their own laws, both as regards their persons and property, and are not subject to the laws of China. The system started nearly one hundred years ago, when certain foreign Powers, headed as usual by the British, forced the Chinese Government to recognize their right to live and trade in China.*

In consideration of these privileges it was agreed that the foreigners concerned should be restricted both as regards residence and virtually as regards trade to certain small areas adjacent to the cities on the coasts and rivers of China which were opened to trade under the new treaties, and so the Treaty Ports came into being. In the beginning this arrangement really suited both parties quite well: it absolved the Chinese Government of the responsibility of looking after a number of tiresome foreigners whose manners and customs differed so entirely from their own, and it gave these same foreigners the security for their lives and property which was indispensable to the successful conduct of their trade with the Chinese. At the same time it enabled them to live under conditions approaching more nearly those which they had been accustomed to than would otherwise have been possible to them. The Treaty Ports became in fact little homes from home where the British especially—and our people were the pioneers in almost all the ports—lived comfortably in their own compounds, carried on their business with the Chinese in their own offices and go-downs, and foregathered when the day was done in their own tennis-courts and clubs, a life which was both pleasant and profitable.

For some years the system continued to work well, and the Treaty Ports, where the foreigners ran their own municipalities and public utility works, prospered abundantly. Originally in many cases these had been not more than a mud flat alongside a river bank, or a piece of waste ground outside a city wall, and it has been said rather unkindly that the Chinese Government of the day chose the worst spots they could for the purpose. The Treaty Ports soon attracted to themselves the bulk of the trade both foreign and domestic in the districts in which they were situated. Chinese merchants flocked to them both for trade and protection; they became the centres of Chinese foreign and coastal shipping, the starting-points and termini of her railways and the cradle of her infant industries. Moreover—and this fact Chinese public opinion is apt to forget—the Treaty Ports provided China with her first modern hospitals and schools at no cost to her whatsoever. To such an extent have the Treaty Ports developed under the system of extrality that today one of them, Shanghai, has become not only one

* An excellent and concise account of the history of Extraterritoriality was given by Dr. Morse in the C.A.S. JOURNAL, 1923, Vol. x ii., and has been twice reprinted.

366 WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

of the largest cities in the world, but one of the most important shipping ports and industrial centres, challenging comparison in respect to the facilities and offers of electric power and labour with New York, Chicago, London and Manchester, with a population of over 1,100,000 in the foreign Settlements alone, of whom some 40,000 are foreigners.

Now it is not surprising that these bustling centres of foreign activity dotted all over that vast country, and over which the Chinese Government had no control (one of the Treaty Ports, Chungking, was 1,400 miles up the Yangtze), should lead to a certain amount of friction between the Chinese and foreign authorities, the one party trying to restrict and confine the rights and privileges given by the treaties to the smallest possible dimensions, the other endeavouring in the interests of trade to stretch the terms of the treaties to their widest extent, taking full advantage of that bugbear of the Chinese Government, the "most favoured nation" clause. This friction steadily increased as the exigencies of China's growing foreign trade compelled foreigners, especially the Japanese, to leave the shelter of the Treaty Ports and carry their wares for sale into the Interior. It is computed that there are at the present time over 1,000,000 Japanese, not amenable to Chinese jurisdiction, either resident or travelling outside the Treaty Ports in China, including of course Manchuria.

At first the Chinese objections to the privileged position of foreigners in the Treaty Ports were mainly of a practical nature. For instance, they viewed with not unnatural disfavour the increasing number of Chinese who, either by residence in the Settlements or by reason of their foreign employ, were able to evade Chinese jurisdiction and taxation; they had even greater reason to object to the practice, encouraged by some of the Powers, but not, I am glad to say, by our own Government, of allowing Chinese citizens to take out papers of foreign naturalization, often it must be admitted with the object of escaping the arm of the law. The Chinese authorities complained, too, not without reason, that the Settlements were turned into little Alsatias where criminals were able to hide from justice and where political malcontents hatched plots against the Government. In justice to the Settlements it must be said that as regards the latter complaint no discrimination has ever been shown, and Chinese statesmen of all parties, even Sun Yat Sen himself, have not hesitated to avail themselves of this hospitality in time of trouble.

The privileged position of foreign goods landed at a Treaty Port under a conventional tariff imposed by treaty on the Chinese Government and thence conveyed under "transit pass" into the Interior was also a frequent cause of friction between foreign Governments, especially our own, and the Chinese revenue authorities, whose ingenuity in putting obstacles in the way of the free distribution of our merchandise in the

Interior was only equalled by the stubbornness with which our merchants stuck to their rights and did manage eventually to deliver the goods. In this connection it must be admitted that the practice, now to a great extent abandoned, of claiming compensation from the Chinese Government in the case of loss or damage to foreign-owned goods did much to make this "extralized" form of trading obnoxious to the Chinese authorities.

These practical objections, and many others I could mention, though they were a constant source of discussion and even serious friction, were in most cases susceptible of adjustment, especially as the Powers, led by Great Britain, have in recent years adopted a policy of claiming no special privileges for their nationals but merely equal treatment as regards taxation, etc., a policy which culminated in the recognition of China's right to tariff autonomy in the treaties made at Nanking in 1928. Far more important and deep-seated, because based on national sentiment, were the objections to "extrality" due to a Chinese feeling of inferiority, of lack of reciprocity, of deliberately unjust treatment—so it seemed to them—in their relations with foreign Powers, a feeling which, having lain dormant for some time, first showed itself when China suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Japan in the war of 1894-95. These sentiments made themselves heard more distinctly when after the Revolution of 1912 the Government of China came largely into the hands of men who had been educated abroad, chiefly in America, and had returned to China determined to reorganize their Government on Western lines. One can easily imagine the resentment of men of this type returning to China after taking their degree at Harvard or Oxford, and finding themselves debarred from the foreign clubs in Shanghai and even from the public gardens in the foreign Settlements. This is perhaps a trifling matter—but it is an indication of the wide gulf which has in the past separated foreigners from Chinese, and which has, I believe, been largely responsible for many of our present-day troubles. I am glad to say that men of goodwill on both sides have worked hard to bridge over this gulf, and I may be permitted to recall that it was under the auspices of the British Chamber of Commerce at Shanghai that the first Union or Sino-Foreign Club in China was established over ten years ago.

These quite natural feelings of resentment were intensified when, having entered the Great War (in which it must be admitted China had had no particular interest) on the side of the Allies, the Chinese found themselves—so it seemed to them—left out in the cold at the Conference of Versailles and denied admittance to the Council of the Nations. At the same time the loss of extraterritorial rights by the Russians and Germans, whereby a great number of foreigners belonging to first-class Powers came under Chinese jurisdiction, drove a wedge into the privi-

leged position of foreigners in China which the Chinese have not ceased to widen by every means in their power. Always adept at coining catch-words, or, as the Americanized Chinese call them, slogans, the Chinese Government and people have now adopted the phrase "Down with the Unequal Treaties" as their national slogan—words which meet the foreigner in China today, wherever he goes, which stare at him in gigantic letters from the red walls of the old Imperial Palace in Peking, which are plastered on the frowning cliffs of the Yangtze Gorges, and borne aloft on banners and piped by the shrill voices of school-children at every political demonstration throughout the length and breadth of the country. If ever there was a national movement in China this surely is one, uniting all political parties in the State, including the Canton party now in active insurrection against the Central Government.

Now, while one cannot help sympathizing with this perfectly legitimate agitation on the part of the Chinese Government and people for the revision of the existing treaties with the object of doing away with the extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, it must be pointed out to them that there is on the part of the foreign Powers concerned an equally legitimate apprehension lest the Chinese Government should, owing to circumstances possibly beyond their control, not be in a position to make new treaties in place of the old based on absolute reciprocity and equality. In other words, the question may fairly be asked, Can the Nanking Government, with whom the Powers are now negotiating, guarantee that they will and can give foreigners in China exactly the same measure of protection for their lives and property and reciprocal treatment as regards their business as Chinese citizens now receive in foreign countries, more particularly in Great Britain? The answer must, I am afraid, be in the negative, not because the Chinese *will not*, but because, with the best will in the world, they *cannot* give this protection.

Can the Chinese Government guarantee, for instance, that when a British subject comes into a Chinese court, whether as plaintiff or defendant, he will receive an absolutely just and impartial hearing, no matter what the subject-matter of the dispute may be or the position of the parties interested, in other words, are Chinese courts of law now independent of all outside interference—even of Government interference—as our courts in England are? Again, supposing we withdraw our gunboats and guards and police forces, can the Chinese Government guarantee full protection for the lives and property of British subjects in the event of armed forces, whether on the side of the Government or opposed to the Government, occupying towns and places such as Shanghai or Tientsin or any Treaty Port where foreigners reside in any large numbers?

If our merchants register their companies and businesses under Chinese company law, can the Government guarantee that this law will be fairly and honestly administered, with no discrimination against them because they are foreigners, as is the case in Great Britain?

Will foreign goods which have paid duty under the new import tariff be able to reach the consumer in the Interior without any further levies except those imposed for local municipal purposes with Government approval, as they do in this country?

If we register British ships engaged in the coastal and river trade under the Chinese flag, as the Government wish us to, can the Government guarantee that they will not be commandeered by any military chief who happens to require transport for his troops?

I do not suggest that we should suspend all negotiations with the Chinese Government until we have received satisfactory replies to these enquiries; but as it is the Chinese themselves who have demanded that the new treaties shall be based on complete reciprocity, it seems only fair that, unless they can give in practice, and not only on paper, the same protection to our people in China as we give to Chinese citizens in England, they should at least agree to the process of handing over jurisdiction, more especially in those places where large British interests are involved, being carried out gradually, with a transition period during which the Chinese Government on their side would have time to consolidate their position and provide the necessary safeguards, and during which British residents would have time to accustom and adapt themselves to the changed conditions of life in China.

Among the points I have enumerated, in regard to which some practical form of guarantee would appear to be essential, I personally regard the military menace to law and order in China as by far the most important. I have myself been witness of the military occupation of Peking and the railway approaches to the sea at Tientsin on at least three occasions during the last ten years, and I can assure you that the havoc wrought by these barbarians—for the rank and file, including many of the officers, are little less than uniformed bandits—must be seen to be believed. The occupation of Peking—or indeed of any other Chinese city—by a Tuchun's forces means the complete disappearance of the civil government of the city; the entire cessation of the normal life of the people; the wholesale commandeering of all forms of private property, especially transport and foodstuffs; and, both on arrival and departure, looting of a nature too awful to be described. On these occasions the better-class Chinese hasten to convey themselves and their belongings into the much-abused Legation quarter; and I sometimes wonder how many of China's leading statesmen today would be alive today to tell the tale had this refuge not been available.

390 WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

I believe that the leaders of the Nanking Government are fully alive to this ever-present danger, and that if they are strong enough to withstand the force of uninformed and often deliberately misguided public opinion, they will, even if they do formally denounce the treaties, not proceed to extremes in the case of Shanghai and other centres of foreign residence in China. The fact that the Government have postponed until next year the threatened unilateral action in regard to the treaties, and that our negotiations at Nanking are about to be resumed, is, if I am not mistaken in my knowledge of Chinese mentality, a very reassuring sign.

As regards what will happen to British residents in China when they come under Chinese jurisdiction it would as I remarked at the outset of my discourse be foolish on my part to offer any intelligent forecast. But I venture to mention certain considerations which may possibly mitigate the fears of those who think not without some reason, that the abolition of extraterritoriality will mean the end of all things as far as our residence in and trade with China are concerned.

It must always be remembered that for some years past large numbers of foreigners, mostly missionaries, I am speaking for the moment of our own people and trade agents, have to all intents and purposes lived under Chinese jurisdiction and that on the whole, provided conditions were normal they have not fared so badly. Experience has shown that foreign residents in China are on the whole law-abiding persons and seldom or never see the inside of a Chinese court of law much less a prison from one year's end to another. The pictures that have been conjured up of respected British residents languishing for long periods in dark Chinese dungeons are, I venture to think exaggerated. Moreover we shall at least I hope we shall—always have our Consuls to fall back upon. Someone remarked to me the other day 'I suppose your Consular people will have to shut up shop when extraterritoriality goes.' I replied 'Not at all—we will probably have to enlarge our premises.' British Consuls will not, it is true, be able to afford the same direct protection to British life and property as they have done in the past but indirectly and by means of representations to the Chinese authorities they will, I feel sure be able to render both residents and trade a great deal of valuable assistance, as they did under somewhat similar circumstances in Japan some years ago.

Admittedly those who live in Settlements and Concessions under foreign control above all residents in Shanghai, will feel the changed conditions more keenly and will suffer a good deal of discomfort and inconvenience during the transition period when municipalities are passing either wholly or partly into Chinese hands but here again we must remember that quite a number of foreigners are living today at Hankow, Tientsin, Tangtau, and elsewhere under Chinese municipal control and,

shall we say, getting accustomed to it? Chinese municipal administration is making steady progress in the face of extraordinary difficulties, among which may be mentioned the belief of a certain class of old-fashioned Chinese, usually retired officials, that electric light and water are heaven-sent adjuncts to a foreign style household and not mundane commodities which are cut off if not paid for, and the tendency of some of those in authority to regard money collected on account of rates and taxes rather as personal perquisites than as sums to be accounted for and spent for the public benefit.

It is our traders in China, our great merchant firms, our banks, insurance and shipping companies, indeed all who have invested money in commercial and industrial enterprises in that country, relying on the security afforded by their being under British law, who have the greatest ground for apprehension of the consequences of the approaching change, because with all respect for the traditionally high standard of Chinese commercial morality and for the efforts of the Chinese Government to secure that the new commercial code is administered with justice and impartiality, our experience of the ways in which the best intentions of those who make laws in China can be frustrated by those who administer them has been rather an unfortunate one. But we must always remember that China is the land of compromise, and although the Chinese revel in issuing regulations on every conceivable subject, in much the same way as we do Acts of Parliament, some way can usually be found, I will not say of evading them, but of getting round them. Moreover, my experience of negotiations with Chinese officials, more particularly the modern Chinese official, has been that if one can give way to them on points of principle they are quite prepared to be reasonable in points of practice. I am reminded of what happened in Canton a year or two ago when the local government issued a series of really fantastic regulations for the control of foreign and Chinese insurance companies, involving registration, inspection of books, deposit of a large percentage of capital in cash as a guarantee of good faith, restriction of insurance business to licensed Chinese brokers, and what not. Some of our people were inclined to throw up the sponge at once and withdraw their agencies; others more wisely said, Let us wait and see if we cannot compromise. So they waited and discussed the matters for over six months with the Chinese authorities, and in the end an agreement was arrived at whereby the registration became a mere formality, inspection resolved itself into an obligation to publish an annual balance sheet, the cash deposit was replaced by a banker's guarantee, and the problem of the licensed broker, which seemed to be the great stumbling block, was solved in a simple manner by the Government allowing all members of the foreign staff to register themselves as brokers. One cannot help thinking and hoping that similar difficulties as regards

392 WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

registration of banks and other British companies and corporations will eventually be settled in the same spirit of compromise.

Then there is Chinese taxation, in regard to which our Chambers of Commerce have quite naturally shown some anxiety. Taxation in China, as the big distributing companies realized some time ago, is largely a matter of bargaining, and as long as there is no discrimination—and against this, in view of Chinese insistence on reciprocity, we can strongly protest—I think British merchants will be able to hold their own. Some of you may have heard the story of the dispute between a well-known British company and the local revenue authorities in a certain province in regard to the affixing of revenue stamps on the cases containing their wares, a dispute which at one time threatened to put a stop to the company's business in a very important market, being finally settled by the offer of the Chinese authorities to sell the company 100 dollars' worth of stamps for 70 dollars cash down. I remember the remark made to me by the head of one of our big distributing companies in China when he visited Peking a few years ago. He said "It wouldn't hurt our business if extraterritoriality were abolished tomorrow"—and then he added as an afterthought "as long as we have Shanghai to retire to in case of trouble"

So again with British-owned factories and mills in China, the Chinese Government, realizing that they were assisting (one might almost say leading) the industrial development of the country, have always in the past treated them fairly, and I shall be very surprised if they do not receive much the same treatment in the future. Nor have I any great fears for the future of British shipping in the coasting and river trade of China, because our big shipping companies have provided safe and regular transport for the domestic trade of China for over fifty years, and I cannot believe that the Chinese will in their own interest shut us out of a trade which, for the time being at any rate, they cannot adequately serve themselves.

Now, I hope, ladies and gentlemen, you will not think that I am dismissing somewhat lightly and irresponsibly the serious problems with which British interests are confronted in China today. Nothing could be farther from my thoughts. I do realize, because I have been an eyewitness myself for many years, what our people, and especially our traders, are up against in their struggle to maintain their position in that great market. But just as we took the lead in opening up China to foreign trade, and have borne the brunt of any ill-feeling caused thereby ever since, so I believe we shall take the lead in adapting ourselves to the new conditions with which we are now faced. And I also believe that the Chinese, who have a pretty shrewd insight into the attitude of foreign nations towards their country, realize this, and if at times we do seem to get more than our share of the hard knocks

going about, they know at heart that in time of trouble they can always turn to the British for sympathy and assistance. We are in these days fighting as it were a rearguard action, and history tells us that to effect an orderly retreat in preparation for a fresh advance requires as much if not more military skill than leading an army advancing to victory. If I have correctly stated the position, then I think we have in our present representative in China a general on whom we can place the utmost trust and confidence at this critical period. I have had the privilege of being a member of Sir Miles Lampson's staff during the negotiations at Nanking which led up to the first of our new treaties with China; I helped, as the Chinese say, to rub the ink on the table on which he pointed his pen. I know that he has won not only the liking but the respect of the Chinese statesmen with whom he is now negotiating, and I think we can rest assured that whatever terms he makes for us will be the very best that can be made.

One last word. H.R.H. the Prince of Wales said last week, in speaking of British trade with Argentina, that *co-operation* was the keynote of our future relations with the people of that country. The same may be said, and perhaps with even greater force, in regard to our relations with the Chinese. Only we must hope that our Chinese friends will bear in mind that the word *co-operation*, just as the word *reciprocity*, implies a good deal of give and take on both sides, and that no international agreement or pact or contract or treaty can serve the purpose for which it is made unless both parties honestly and loyally try to make it a success. If the Chinese will meet us half-way on that ground—and I believe that is the intention of the Government at Nanking—then I see no reason why, under the changed conditions which will prevail when "extrality" is abolished in China, the British and Chinese peoples should not continue to trade with one another to their great mutual benefit for many years to come.

Dr. RUSHTON PARKER: I would like to ask an elementary question—namely, is Hong Kong on the same footing as other Treaty Ports in China?

The LECTURER: No, Hong Kong is a British colony; the extra-territorial areas in China are foreign concessions or international settlements.

Another MEMBER: It has been stated in the financial papers that the provinces in Canton and throughout China are to be divided up each behind its own tariff wall, and that it will be a great impediment to British trade to get over those tariff walls. A company like the British-American Tobacco Company will have to have a factory in each province.

The LECTURER: The Chinese Government have stated again and

394 WHAT THE SURRENDER OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY

again that it is their intention to have one national tariff, and that is the arrangement we made with them when we agreed to tariff autonomy. Of course, they have this difficulty with the provinces, that the provinces have to pay for the upkeep of their administration, especially of their armies, and they do not get the revenue that comes from the national tariff. That is kept by the Central Government for the service of foreign and domestic loans, so naturally there is a strong tendency on the part of the provinces to levy extra taxation, such as Lakin. As regards such companies as the British-American Tobacco Company, I think I may say they have already met the practical difficulties of the situation by putting up factories in various parts of China.

Dr. RUSHTON PARKER: When you spoke of the Chinese giving us the same privileges that they have in our country, it struck me you would have had a much stronger case if, instead of referring to the Chinese of our country, you had referred to the Chinese in Singapore and Penang. I was immensely struck with the wonderful privileges they have there—they seem to be almost the chief people in Penang and Singapore too. They are wealthy.

The LECTURER: You are quite right. It is a very good point, but when I spoke of reciprocity with our country I meant to include the British colonies.

A MEMBER: Does Sir Harry suggest that we should give up our extraterritoriality laws before the Chinese laws are reasonably codified so as to be safe for Europeans? I speak with some knowledge of China. I had the honour of having an obituary notice in 1900. I know a little about the Chinese and the Chinese case. As a patriotic Britisher and one very fond of the Chinese I would like to put forward this contention, that we should not give up our extraterritorial rights without proper precautions that the Chinese laws shall be safe for Europeans.

The LECTURER: This is a very difficult question to answer. I tried to bring out in my address our present position in regard to those safeguards which we consider necessary if we are going to put our people under Chinese law. I also suggested that we cannot possibly sit down and do nothing about it, because the Chinese are determined to recover what they regard as their rights sooner or later. Another difficulty is that the foreign Powers, speaking generally, are not taking joint action in the matter, and it would be very difficult for us alone to refuse to recognize Chinese courts if, we will say, the Americans did agree to recognize them.

Mr. S. F. MAYERS: With regard to that last point, my Lord Chairman, our information shows that though the Powers who still enjoy extraterritorial privileges are negotiating separately, they are negotiating along common lines; and I do not feel that there is any ground to

justify the supposition that one of the remaining Powers enjoying extraterritorial privileges is likely to sign away those privileges and thereby place the remaining nations in a difficulty. Sir Harry Fox opened with the gambit that this problem is a very complicated one, but he dealt with it so luminously that he makes me, as a member of the audience, wonder whether he did not exaggerate the complication, or whether one is not a little more intelligent than one thought. I consider, if I may say so, that he perhaps tipped the balance a little more in favour of what one may label Chinese arguments, than in favour of the arguments which stand behind foreign reluctance in surrendering these privileges. We who have lived for many years in China all know that a privilege of that sort has been subject to abuses. It was abused wherever capitulations or extraterritorial rights existed in any country. In China it has been abused by many of the less important commercial Powers. Sir Harry Fox drew attention to the abuse of registering Chinese subjects as subjects of a foreign Power, and thereby endowing them with extraterritorial privileges, and he mentioned that constant difficulty, during the last fifty or sixty years of international trade in China, of conferring a sort of extraterritorial privilege upon the very goods of the foreign merchant as they penetrated into the interior. All those arguments supporting the Chinese view that extraterritorial privilege is obnoxious are freely admitted, I think, by all reasonable observers. But I do not feel that Sir Harry emphasized quite enough the grave disadvantages that are going to confront the firms concerned with foreign trade in China when extraterritoriality is given up—though there is a great deal of virtue in that word *when*. I think the general feeling is this, that if now, in this year of 1931, extraterritoriality were given up, it would be distinctly a premature step fraught with the greatest damage to British interests. (Hear, hear.) The news from China that we get day by day through the Press shows that the Nanking Government with which Sir Miles Lampson is negotiating is at this very moment confronted by a situation of serious import. A section of the governing Party has seceded, and has set up, or is reported to be setting up, a separate form of government at Canton. I do not think it unreasonable that in such circumstances the representative of a great Power like our own country should say to the Chinese Government that the moment does not seem opportune for carrying a stage further the negotiations which were pending. The willingness to carry such negotiations to a point which would mark a new stage in our relationships with China is by no means opposed by British commercial opinion interested in China. We feel generally, I think, that a new stage has to be entered upon, but I would emphasize what Sir Harry did mention, that there should be a *transitory* period, and I would say by no means a short *transitory* period; for China has to travel

a long road before she has arranged her budgetary system to make taxation uniform, and to make its incidence regular and just. The danger of being incarcerated in Chinese gaols is a very dreadful prospect, but that is not a point that is laid stress upon by commercial opinion. It is really the taxation problem which looms largest on the horizon. So long as China is a prey to civil war and has not stabilized her budgetary system, it is perfectly obvious that taxation must be irregular. The pleasing picture that Sir Harry Fox drew of the ability of astute persons to compromise with Chinese officials sounds all very well in this room, but such a necessity occasions a great deal of anxiety to people who have to carry on such negotiations of compromise, and a good deal of serious disturbance in the minds of their principals at home who know that, whatever the compromise may be, it will mean additional overhead expenditure. I feel that the question of taxation is the chief obstacle which stands in the minds of all British commercial interests in China against any speedy radical change in the extraterritorial position. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and Gentlemen, - I think we all have listened to Sir Harry Fox's lecture with deep interest. Everybody who is a sane person and looks round the world realizes that a gradual change is going to be made, a change which I have watched in Egypt and India, but some of us wonder whether in a rearguard action we ought to throw our weapons away. I think that is the worst way of fighting a rearguard action. In the twenty-six or twenty-seven years I have been in the East in Turkey and Persia and more recently in Egypt—I have seen the importance of extraterritoriality and capitulations, and while I share to the full the view that in a sense they are derogatory to the nation who gives them from their national point of view, yet I think it can be argued with justice that on the whole they have done greater good to the countries that granted them than harm. They have provided wealth and trade and opportunities to those countries which they would not have had, and it is significant the countries in which we have abandoned our capitulations have gone steadily downhill. Look at Turkey, a great Power fallen to pieces economically. We have seen in the beginnings of the loss of extraterritoriality a weakening of policy in Egypt. There you see the native courts. It was the pride of every Englishman that any man could get a just and equal verdict from courts composed of British and native judges. But since the British have left nobody pretends that this is the case. One of my chief officials refused to believe for a long time that the native courts could ever go wrong. He said it was the last thing possible. But before I left he told me with tears in his eyes, "It is all gone, finished; our work has gone." Ought we not to proceed more prudently and slowly? Have not we been negotiating too readily in China with very

unstable forces? (Hear, hear.) We are negotiating with a Power that, if not transitory, at any rate is a Power that has not solidified its position in China, and tomorrow, perhaps, will be incapable of carrying out the obligations to get which we are to make sacrifices. I believe that in the disturbed state of the world, and with the very hostile forces that surround us, we need to fight our rearguard action with every weapon in our hand; and not because we want to retard the progress of those countries, for experience shows that the best way to retard the progress of those countries is to abandon our extraterritorial and capitulatory rights. Those of us who love the East and those who love it best feel that we can do it most good by a more prudent policy than has been pursued recently in China and one or two other places.

If Sir Harry is not too tired, I should be glad, when he closes his remarks, if he could say a word about a thing in which I share his interest very deeply. That is the juridical position. I do not see how in the East you can trade if you cannot get equal law and equal justice without fear or favour from a trade point of view, and we cannot be assured of getting a fair verdict from Chinese courts on trade matters. It seems to me to knock the whole bottom out of our trade, and if Sir Harry can say whether I am right or wrong I shall be very grateful. On behalf of the Central Asian Society and all here I tender our very warmest thanks for the very interesting evening he has given us, and for the opportunity of hearing his expert view on a great question. (Applause.)

The LECTURER: Lord Lloyd, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank you very much for the kind things you have said about my address. It required some courage to give an address and try to offer a convincing explanation of a situation which I myself regard as most serious and unsatisfactory. Possibly I did, as Mr. Mayers said, tip over the balance on the Chinese side; and I suppose I did that because I feel that the arguments on our side against giving up our extraterritorial rights are so tremendous that people may perhaps wonder what all this bother is about, and I wanted to try and explain what the reasons of the Chinese are and why they feel so strongly about it. I may possibly have overstated their case. I did not really mean to do it, but I tried to get many considerations into a very small compass, and that is not at all easy. With regard to the question Lord Lloyd asked me about the courts, of course it is quite true that the Chinese courts at the present day are, speaking generally, unable to give foreigners adequate redress and protection. That is one of the main points which I believe we are keeping before the Chinese Government. But there is this difficulty, that some years ago the British Government, followed by other Governments, did go some way in telling the Chinese it was in 1926—that they were prepared to give up their extraterritorial rights when the

Chinese had established competent courts of their own. It is all a question of interpretation. The Chinese say "We have now got them", and flourish their criminal and civil codes in our faces. We say, "You have not, we can prove you have not," and that, I suppose, is what Sir Miles Lampson is doing in Nanking today. He is probably saying the same things to the Chinese Government that you my Lord, have just said to me, and from what I know of him I am sure he is saying them with great point. (Applause)

PROBLEMS OF CHINESE BRONZES

BY W. PERCEVAL YETTS

COLLECTORS of Chinese bronzes often deplore the fact that they know nothing concerning the provenance of their treasures. The usual lack of information is due to several causes: first, excavation in China is generally carried out by ignorant and untrained persons, secondly, the finds almost always pass through several hands before they reach the collector, and thirdly, commercial and other considerations often encourage secrecy or wilfully misleading statements. Thus, students are left to seek enlightenment from the bronzes themselves. Some of the pieces are inscribed, and in a few instances the legends offer clues to historical settings, but generally this source of information is most disappointing. Our limited knowledge of archaic script often precludes a full and certain decipherment, and, even when these terse legends can be read, the allusions to persons and places can rarely be identified.

Another possible means of tracing the cultural environment through actual examination of the object is to estimate the standards of style and craftsmanship. Here, again, conclusions are likely to be false, owing to lack of archaeological criteria. There can be little doubt that many of the notions now current will prove mistaken in the light of future scientific excavation. The late Jorg Trubner made a painstaking attempt to trace the evolution of the bronze art in ancient China on stylistic grounds. He took twenty-six examples of the *yu* class, and grouped them into three main types, arranged in supposed chronological sequence. From their features he formulated theories of evolution, which he supported with collateral data drawn from five vessels of the *kuang* class and several other documents. He showed entire disregard for the collective opinion of Chinese critics during many centuries. This detachment from established tradition might possibly have been an advantage, in so far that it left him free to work out new standards, had he known those relevant archaeological criteria which are a necessary basis for a theme of this kind. But he lacked this knowledge, and his book fails to carry conviction. One sample of his arguments will suffice. He puts, at the two ends of his supposed evolutionary series, first the *yu* belonging to the Pao-chi set, now in the New York Metropolitan Museum, and last a *yu* in the Eumorfopoulos Collection (Nos. A 24 and

* *Yu und Kuang; zur Typologie der chinesischen Bronzen*. Pp. 32, pls. 69. Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann. 1929.

25 of the *Catalogue*). The Pao-chi *yu* have the handles fitted in the shorter transverse axis, so that, with one hand lifting the vessel, the other may tilt it to pour the contents out at one end of the oval mouth. The author urges that this is a more utilitarian, and therefore more primitive, arrangement than the handle being fitted in the long axis, as it is in the Eumorfopoulos *yu*, "for the sole purpose," he asserts, "of enhancing the noble effect of the silhouette." No doubt this argument might have some force if the *yu* were pourers; but all evidence goes to prove that they were primarily containers from which the wine was ladled. Four undoubted pourers were found among the Pao-chi set, and also several ladles, one (so far as I can remember) actually inside a *yu*.

While awaiting organized excavation, we are left with the hope of gaining clues from the material of the object. If, for instance, we knew that certain types of alloy had been definitely associated with certain schools of bronze casting, it would be a step forward. Again, there is a prevalent belief that the state of corrosion indicates the age.

A recently published article* is mainly concerned with evidence as to corrosion, though the composition of the bronze is also treated. As stated on the title-page, this is an advance copy, and it is subject to revision. No doubt in its final form the subject matter will be sorted out and arranged in a more coherent manner. The conclusions come to by Captain Collins are of necessity merely tentative; for a vast deal more of laboratory work must be done before final opinions can be reached. His premises, too, suffer from the usual lack of archaeological criteria. Unless the exact age of an object can be determined, the attempt is futile to relate its metallic composition with a definite school. Moreover, the question of provenance is of the utmost importance. Beyond doubt there existed at the same time in ancient China different local centres of bronze casting. Probably the practice as regards the composition of the alloy varied as much as their respective standards of style and craftsmanship. To imagine that bronze casters in many of the numerous semi-isolated states which constituted ancient China were governed by a uniform rule is, of course, illusory. Their practice was probably as diverse in regard to material as in other respects. Subject to certain rough empirical standards, they must have used the metal which was obtainable. Presumably they put into the melting-pot every scrap that came to hand, much in the same way that many casters do at the present day.

The foregoing are some of the reasons why we can hardly hope at the present time to gain from the analysis of the metal definite clues to the cultural setting of ancient Chinese bronzes. This is not to say that the work of Captain Collins is valueless to the connoisseur and the

* *The Corrosion of Early Chinese Bronzes*. By William F. Collins. Pp. 23, pls. 4. The Institute of Metals. 2s. 6d. net.

archaeologist. All the data which he has collected may some day fit into their true place, when the associated criteria, now lacking, are known. I am not qualified to estimate, as a metallurgist, the worth of the article to science. Presumably it should be received as a welcome contribution, since, so far as I know, only one serious study of the subject has yet been published, and that in a short paper by Professor Chikashige Masumi eleven years ago.*

Corrosion is an even more complex problem than that of metallic composition. Here also there is need for full knowledge of contributory factors. Who can correlate cause and effect without full data of environment? Captain Collins gives some useful tables showing the composition of loess in different localities, and the fact is well known that most of the territory of ancient China was covered with loess. But this does not help us much to assess the influence of purely local conditions, such as the proximity of organic matter and associated objects in the place of burial. And there remain, besides, incalculable factors, such as duration of burial, and the vicissitudes through which a bronze may have passed above ground. In short, a reasonable conclusion seems to be that, in our present state of knowledge, patina is but a minor guide as to the age of a bronze. Certainly, the absence of patina does not preclude a high antiquity.

Captain Collins makes no attempt to explain the black, glossy, lacquer-like surface which is often found on mirrors, unless his remarks on colloidal patination deposits may have some bearing on it. This being a most intriguing problem, which often arouses the curiosity of collectors, a passage by the present writer, which was published last year,† is repeated here in the hope that it may lead to more light being thrown on the subject.

"I have long held the view that the quality of this coating is so perfect and uniform that the generally accepted explanation of a patina due to accidental chances of environment fails to carry conviction. At my request, Dr. H. J. Plenderleith has been good enough to make a chemical examination, and he finds that the black coating withstands all reagents except a mixture of nitric and hydrofluoric acids. This fact suggests the possibility that the coating may have been intentionally produced by mixing siliceous matter with the layer of the mould which comes into direct contact with the molten metal. Thus a coating of a compound somewhat like silicon bronze might be produced. The problem must be investigated further before any definite statement can be made. A glossy black surface is of minor value as a mirror; but the fact must

* *The Composition of Ancient Eastern Bronzes*, in *The Journal of the Chemical Society*, cxvii. (1920), 917-922.

† *The George Eumioyopoulos Collection Catalogue of the Chinese and Korean Bronzes*, etc., vol. ii., 42. London: Benn.

be remembered that mirrors were not made solely for toilet purposes. Many were primarily talismans, and the vogue for burying them in tombs would explain a process aimed at providing an imperishable coating. The perfect state of preservation which distinguishes most of the mirrors having this lacquer-like surface lends support to the theory."

Note should be added that few Chinese bronze objects, other than the mirrors, show this quality. It occurs, however, on certain Korean domestic utensils, of which the spoons are the commonest; and the surmise seems reasonable that the Koreans produced the coating intentionally in order to fit the things for use in contact with food.

Captain Collins writes "It is believed by many that all early Chinese bronzes were cast by the 'cire perdue' process, considered by some to have been invented by the Egyptians. In consequence no two could be exactly similar. There is certainly no doubt that the Chinese have used the 'cire perdue' process for all but the simplest castings. For that very reason, many were exactly similar. Indeed, archaic replicas are known to exist at the present day, and the fact that quite a lot have survived the vicissitudes of more than two thousand years indicates that originally they were much more numerous. One of the main advantages of the 'cire perdue' method is that it allows of free duplication. The ancient Chinese, in common with all skilled craftsmen, were ready to take advantage of every means to economize labour. Their frequent use of dies is another example of this instinct. A full account of the technique of bronze casting in ancient China was published two years ago in the first volume of the *Eumorfopoulos Collection Catalogue*. Explanations there given have been confirmed by a recent discovery among the remains of the Yin dynasty at An-yang. Several clay moulds, which must have served for wax patterns of bronzes, have come to light.

Another technical point made was that lead would probably be found in fairly large quantities in the composition of many Chinese bronzes. A verification of this forecast is one of the most interesting data established by Captain Collins. The presence of lead facilitates the attainment of that smoothness of surface and sharpness of detail which distinguish the bronzes of ancient China. There remains the question whether lead was early recognized as a metal distinct from tin. Captain Collins states that it was known during the third century B.C.; but he omits to mention his authority. This is one of the points which might well be enlarged on when the article undergoes revision.

TURKESTAN AND THE SOVIET REGIME

By MUSTAFA CHOKAYEV

LENIN and all the leaders of the October Revolution after him were very fond of laying particular emphasis on the double rôle of Turkestan in the Soviet political system. Turkestan, in the first place, was to serve as "an experimental field" for the practical application of the Soviet policy for different nationalities; and it was, in the second place, to become an imitable example for the solution of a more general and more important problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat—namely, "the revolution for colonial liberation." Almost the entire literature devoted by the Bolsheviks to Turkestan affirms this exemplary character of the "revolutionary liberation policy" carried out in Turkestan by the Bolsheviks. Such an affirmation imposes upon the author of this article the duty to be exceptionally accurate in describing the state of Turkestan under the Soviet power.

I. The Theory of Deception.

Though it is not our intention to embark upon a theoretical discussion with the Moscow Bolsheviks, it is difficult to pass over the double meaning the Bolsheviks have come to attach to their theory of "national self-determination."

"By self-determination of nations is understood," wrote Lenin in April, 1914, "their state separation from national foreign collectives; in other words, the formation of a national independent state" (see "Collection of the Works of Lenin," vol. xix., p. 98).

At the factional Conference of the Bolsheviks in 1917 (April)—the Bolsheviks then constituted only a faction of the Social Democratic Party—which took place in St. Petersburg, Stalin firmly declared that:

"The oppressed peoples comprised within Russia must be given the right to decide for themselves the question whether they want to remain within the composition of the State of Russia, or to separate and form their own independent states" (see "Revolution and the Question of Nationalities," published by the Communist Academy, 1930, vol. iii, p. 8).

In the resolution on the national question adopted at this Conference is found, among others, the following declaration:

"All the nations comprising the State of Russia must be granted the right to free separation and the right to form their own independent states. The denial of such a right and the refusal to adopt measures guaranteeing its practical realization would be equivalent to supporting the policy of annexation" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

In his article on Finland, Lenin wrote in *Pravda* (The Tenth) of May 2, 1917:

"The conscious proletariat and the social democrats faithful to their programme stand for the right to separation of Finland, as well of all other oppressed peoples, from Russia" (italics of the original quoted, *ibid.*, p. 28).

Well, the Bolsheviks at last found themselves in power. Decrees and appeals were immediately published in profusion confirming the right to Russia's subject nations to free separation from Russia. Moreover, in a

special "appeal of the Soviet of People's Commissaries to all the labouring Muslims of Russia and the East," the Bolsheviks, addressing our people, wrote:

"Do not lose time and throw off your shackles—the century-old grabbers of your lands! No longer let them plunder your paternal hearths! You yourselves should be the masters of your own country! You yourselves should arrange your life in your own image and liking!" (published in the *Gazette* of the "Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government," this being then the title of the Soviet of People's Commissars, November 24, 1917).

After quoting these revolutionary and solemn promises (confirmed by the signatures of both Lenin and Stalin) which preceded and followed the usurpation of state power by the Bolsheviks, I should like to bring to the notice of my readers a document of extraordinary importance. This document is the "Report on the National Question" made by Stalin (of course with Lenin's approval) to the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party (1921). Stalin, then no longer a revolutionary agitator, but a People's Commissar for Nationalities, polemizes with Chicherin, and reproaches the latter that he (Chicherin) "speaks too much on national self-determination, which has now become an empty slogan conveniently utilized by the Imperialists."

One notices here already a difference in the treatment by Stalin of the slogan of "self-determination of the nations"; he thinks it already an "empty slogan." But let us hear Stalin speak himself:

"We have departed from this slogan for already two years, the slogan we no longer have in our programme. In our programme we do not speak of national self-determination, a slogan absolutely deliquescent, but of a slogan more clear cut and definite—of the right of peoples to state separation. These are two different things" . . . (see pamphlet, "National Question and Soviet Russia," published by People's Commissariat for Nationalities; State Publication, 1921).

We have seen above that neither Lenin in 1914, nor the Conference of the Bolsheviks in April, 1917, nor again Lenin in May, 1917, made any difference whatsoever between the slogan of "self-determination of the nations" and "the right of each people to state separation." On the contrary, Lenin as well as the Conference of the Bolsheviks both considered these two conceptions synonymous. But as soon as the Bolsheviks consolidated their power the conception of "self-determination of the nations" and "the right of peoples to state separation" became two different things.

Declaring that "the right to separation" from Soviet Russia remains unutilized ("by the will of the peoples themselves comprising Soviet Russia"), Stalin says:

"In so far as we have to deal with the colonies kept in oppression by England, France, America, Japan; in so far as we have to deal with such subjected countries as Arabia, Mesopotamia, Turkey, India—i.e., with the countries which are the colonies of the Entente—the slogan of 'the right of peoples to separation' is a revolutionary one, and its rejection would be playing into the hands of the Entente" (*ibid.*).

In another passage the same Stalin says very clearly:

"The demand for separation of the bordering nations at the present stage of revolution is extremely counter-revolutionary" (see the journal *Peoples' Economy*, No. 8, December, 1920).

Developing the idea of Stalin, the Bolshevik Zatonaki said at the 10th Congress of the Party:

"It would be quite natural, we would be behaving quite correctly, if in deferring to the bordering peoples we were strengthening our centre. And even if it were necessary to despoil the bordering countries to strengthen our centre, we would do so."

I will not dwell any longer on the Bolshevik's theory; I will only point out the fact that the behaviour of the directors of the Soviet policy on national questions, which received the official sanction of the Party Conference in 1921, fits in very well with what the same Bolsheviks (Lenin, Stalin, and others) called in 1917 "the policy of grabbing and annexation."

Thus, having consolidated their power, the Moscow Bolsheviks declared the slogan for so many years so ardently professed by them to be counter-revolutionary when it came to be applied in practice to the peoples subjected to Russia. But the same slogan continued to be "revolutionary" in relation to "the peoples subjected to the Entente."

The outside world, especially the so-called colonial countries, hear only the revolutionary slogans of the Bolsheviks, while we, the peoples under the power of the very same Bolsheviks, have experienced already for thirteen years the whole horror of their bloodthirsty "policy of grabbing and annexation."

II. The First Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies in Turkestan.

From the very first days of the revolution power in Turkestan passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. The Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government attempted to assert their right to govern the country without the Soviets, but nothing came out of their attempt. The very first clash of the Government Committee with the Tashkent Soviet led to an almost complete voluntary liquidation of the Committee. The Chairman and three members of the Committee immediately left Turkestan. Two members of the Committee who were sent to the Semirechinsk Province for the liquidation of the unrest which had started there in 1916 were compelled to limit their activities to the registration of "pogroms" and mass murders of the local Kirghiz-Kaizak population by the Russian peasant immigrants, with the active assistance of the "revolutionary soldiers" returned from the front. The remaining two members of the Committee who had stayed in Tashkent submitted finally to the hegemony of the local Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

This state of things continued for more than two months. The consequent changes in the composition of the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government, with the appointment at its head of a Commissary General, did not in any way improve the system of government; the Soviet of the Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies remained the actual masters of the situation.

It seems strange that we—the Turkestanians—who so heartily welcomed the February Revolution, began in course of time to fear the very same elements without whom that Revolution would have been impossible. I speak of the Soviets of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies in Turkestan. We were seeking closer contact with the Russian Socialists, but we observed in the Soviets, which were composed entirely of Socialists, tendencies very alarming to us. And this not because we ourselves were becoming extreme Nationalists. Our modest desire for a local autonomy for Turkestan we were ready to leave to the decision of the Constituent Assembly of All-Russia. But we did naturally express our wish to participate more actively in the building up of new life. But under the then prevailing conditions in

Turkestan this proved to be the encroachment on our part upon the old privileges of the Russians.

The Russian population of Turkestan (approximately only 5 per cent.) consisted of the civil servants, merchants, soldiers and peasants. Turkestan had neither the Russian nobility nor the Russian landowners. Among the Russians here, therefore, there could not have been any kind of "class antagonism." The absence in the country of self-government of any shape or form, even of the kind that existed under the old régime in other parts of Russia, was the cause of the fact that literally every branch of government in Turkestan passed into the hands of the Soviets from the very first days of the revolution. But as the great majority of the population (95 per cent.) consisted of the native Turkestanians, there arose a certain contact and interrelationship between the governors and the governed. The Soviets openly took up the position of the defenders of the old privileges of the Russians in Turkestan.

In Russia the Soviets fought against the privileges of the former ruling classes, while here, in Turkestan, the Soviets consisting of the representatives of the ruling nation defended the privileges of the Russian workers and the Russian peasants against the pretensions of the local population.

III. The First Steps of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan

The usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks in Turkestan took place at the same time as in St. Petersburg. The native population of Turkestan did not take any part whatever in the historical events of the October days. We did not at that time have any definite clearly cut national policy. We continued to regard Turkestan as a part of Russia, and its future fate we considered as tied to that of Russia. Even in regard to the new "Workers' and Peasants' Government" formed in St. Petersburg, we adopted a waiting attitude. If the conduct of the local Russian workers, soldiers and peasants, tended to alienate us from their "local Soviet power," the decrees and appeals of the central Soviet Government on the "rights of each nation, irrespective of the degree of its development or backwardness, to separation and to the formation of its own independent national state" and the right to demand "the withdrawal of the armies of a stronger nation" seemed to us capable of reconciling the Turkestanians to the new state régime in Russia. We did not have to wait long. In the last days of November, 1917, the 3rd Congress of the Soviets in Turkestan was convened in Tashkent. We followed the activities of the Congress with great care and attention, it was to lay the foundation stone of the Soviet power in Tashkent. One of the strangest peculiarities of this Congress was the fact that no representatives of the native population of Turkestan took part in its deliberations. The soldiers sent thither from the interior provinces of Russia, the peasants settled therein by the old (Tsarist) régime on the lands confiscated from our people, and the workers accustomed to regard us haughtily, from above—these were the people who were to decide at this moment the fate of Turkestan. The Resolution of the Congress of the Soviets, which was noteworthy for its clarity of expression, contained among others the following statement:

"The inclusion of the Mussulmans in the organs of the higher Regional Revolutionary power appears at the present moment unacceptable."

This cynicism, so frankly expressed, killed the last remnants of any hope of the possibility of arriving at any agreement with the new power in Turkestan. We knew well the personalities of the leaders of the Turkestan

Bolsheviks and of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. We knew the dark past of many of them, yet we did not expect that even these gentlemen would with such inhuman cynicism tread down the solemn revolutionary slogans and the rights of peoples. We expected that the Soviet Government formed in Tashkent would offer us some compromise, some sort of temporary *modus vivendi* with the final decision as to the form of government Turkestan was to have, left to the Central Soviet Government. But the resolution of the Congress of the Soviets referred to above destroyed any expectations which we might have had, and we found ourselves compelled to take steps for the open expression of the will of our people.

IV. The Proclamation of the Autonomy of Turkestan (the "Kokand Government").

Throughout the country voices began to be heard more and more frequently calling upon their leaders to stand up for their national rights. It was demanded of the Turkestan National Council, of which I had the honour to be the President, to follow the example of the Ukraine, and by unilateral act to proclaim the autonomy of Turkestan without waiting for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly of All Russia. The National Council did not take this step even at the risk of its own popularity. The leaders of the National Council were people of the young Radical generation. But our Radicalism was concerned more with the *internal National* rather than the *external National front*. In other words, our Radicalism meant not the erection of barriers between our own and the Russian peoples, but the struggle for modernization, for progress, the struggle for the reconstruction of the life of our people on new lines.

But the usurpation of power by the Bolsheviks followed by the deprivation of our people of their political rights (see the above quoted resolution of the 3rd Congress of the Soviets) compelled us hurriedly to take measures to oppose the will of our people to the decisions of the usurpators. It was decided after consultation with the local branches of the National Council to convoke in Kokand an Extraordinary Congress. During the negotiations preceding the Congress two tendencies were observed: some were for the declaration of independence, and some for the limitation of their steps for the time being to a proclamation of a Provisional Autonomous Government of Turkestan. Both stood, however, for loyal relations with the Central Soviet Government, whom they thought would bring pressure to bear upon the Russian Bolsheviks of Turkestan, who had by their conduct created in the country a considerable friction between the Russians and the native population. After many-sided and exhaustive deliberations, all agreed to the declaration of the autonomy, the project for which was submitted by the author of this article. Thus the 4th Turkestanian Extraordinary Congress, proclaimed on December 10, 1917, under my chairmanship, the Autonomy of Turkestan. The resolution of the Congress stated:

"The 4th Extraordinary Regional Congress, expressing the will of the peoples of Turkestan to self-determination in accordance with the principles proclaimed by the Great Russian Revolution, proclaims Turkestan territorially autonomous in union with the Federal Democratic Republic of Russia. The elaboration of the form of autonomy is entrusted to the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, which must be convened as soon as possible. The Congress solemnly declares herewith that the rights of the national minorities settled in Turkestan will be fully safeguarded."

It is to be noted here that the Congress was attended also by the representatives of the Russian population of the country. A Provisional People's Council and the Provisional Government of the Autonomous Turkestan were duly elected. The new Government did not have a single soldier at their command, nor did they have money. Nevertheless, the Turkestanian Government ("The Kokand Government") quickly gained popularity.

The Government began to organize a people's militia. The voluntary contributions enabled the Government to form the essential organs of Government. The Government decided to issue an internal loan to the amount of 3,000,000 roubles. The preliminary negotiations convinced the members of the Government that the issue would be more than covered in a very short time. An accelerated activity was carried out in regard to the elaboration of the electoral law for the Constituent Assembly of Turkestan, which was to be convened for March 9th, 1918.

At the beginning of January, 1918, conferences of the organized workers and "dekkan" (peasants) of Turkestan were held, which not only confirmed and approved the autonomy of Turkestan, but even found it necessary to appeal to the Central Soviet Government "to recognize the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan as the only Government of Turkestan."

The Congress of the Workers and "Dekkan" pointed out to the central Soviet the necessity of the dissolution of the Soviet Government formed in Tashkent, which leaned on the foreign elements hostile to the native population of the country contrary to the principles proclaimed by the October Revolution of the self determination of peoples.

We are approaching now an interesting moment when the Bolsheviks, after having advised the Turkestanians to take up the self determination principle, and promised them to take every step guaranteeing its practical realization, began, now that they had attained power, to ignore their own advice. I will quote here the reply of Stalin, then the People's Commissar for Nationalities, to the appeal of the Congress of the Turkestanian Workers and Dekkan, as reproduced by Vadim Tchaikan in his book "The Execution of the Twenty-six Baku Commissars," the book which was published in Moscow in 1922 with the approval of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Stalin answered in the following terms:

"The Soviets are autonomous in their internal affairs and discharge their duties by leaning upon their own actual forces. The native proletarians of Turkestan, therefore, should not appeal to the central Soviet power with the request to dissolve the Turkestan Govnarcom (Soviet of People's Commissars), which in their opinion is leaning upon the non Muslim army elements, but should themselves dissolve it by force, if such a force is available to the native proletarians and peasants."

This was an open call on the part of the Soviet centre for civil war, and this war did really begin.

After this answer of Stalin, the Tashkent Bolsheviks who, until now, did not dare to lift their hands against the autonomous Government, decided to liquidate the latter; and on February 11, 1918, the Tashkent Government moved their army against Kokand. The Kokand Government, unable to muster enough military forces, could not offer an effective organized resistance and the autonomous Government fell. Now the war began between the Turkestanians and the Soviet troops. The city of Kokand was plundered by

the Bolsheviks; over 10,000 inhabitants and defenders of the city fell victims of this Bolshevik aggression. The Soviet Government allowed its troops "freedom of action for a whole month." The Bolsheviks triumphed. In the country began what came to be known as "The Basmaji Movement."

I have already had occasion to speak in detail of this movement in the pages of the *Asiatic Review* (see the number for April, 1928), and will not therefore dwell upon it here.

V. The Soviet Power in Turkestan: The Policy of Famine.

The Bolshevik, George Safarov, who was sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to Turkestan and who remained there for two years (1919-1921) as a member of an Extraordinary Commission for the guidance of the Soviet policy, wrote a book entitled "The Colonial Revolution" (The Experiment of Turkestan), State Publication, Moscow, 1921. In this book one finds collected much interesting and valuable information on the Bolshevik activities in our country in these "heroic years" of the Soviet power. This is what Safarov writes of those into whose hands the October Revolution placed the task of the "National liberation" of Turkestan (see p. 71).

"It was not the Bolshevik party that created in Turkestan the Bolshevik power, it was the Bolshevik power that created there the Bolshevik party and the party of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries. The unavoidable consequence of this was that the Bolshevik and the Left Socialist Revolutionary parties became from the very first day of the revolution a veritable harbour of a considerable number of adventurers, careerists, and even of simple criminal elements. On the other hand," continues Safarov, "the appurtenance to the industrial proletariat of the Tsarist colony was a national privilege of the Russians. The proletarian dictatorship here, therefore, put on from the very first day, the typically colonizing cloak."

But what advantage did Turkestan receive from the power with "the typically colonizing cloak"? The answer is furnished by Safarov himself:

"Removed from power, the Mussulman paupers were also deprived of bread. . . . The new town (that is, the Russian quarter of the towns) used to fall upon the starving old towns (that is, the Mussulman quarters) and villages with the avalanche of requisitions and confiscations; and the Mussulman population, unable to cope themselves with the famine, were slowly dying out. An impassable barrier was thus erected between the new towns and the Soviet power dwelling therein and the wide masses of the native population. . . . In the Mussulman circles there grew thus that fateful disposition towards the Soviet power which was expressed in the following short sentence, 'Will the Russian freedom never come to an end?' 'The Russian freedom' meant death by famine, raids by the Red guards, executions without trials, wholesale confiscations and requisitions" (*ibid.*, pp. 81-82).

I would like the distant friends of the Moscow Bolsheviks to give careful consideration to these lines emanating from one of the most prominent Bolshevik publicists.

I will quote another authoritative source for the elucidation of the meaning of Safarov's phrase, "the Mussulman population, unable to cope themselves with the famine, were slowly dying out."

The source is the book entitled "The Revolution and the Native Population of Turkestan," written by a Turkestanian, Turar Riskulov, who held the highest posts in Soviet Turkestan, and who is at the present the Acting President of the Soviet of People's Commissars of Russia. He and Safarov cannot, of course, be suspected of the Turkestanian "counter-revolutionary"

tendencies; and his evidence on the conduct of his party comrades in Turkistan commands all the force and authority of an official document.

In his own preface to his book (p. xii), Turar Riskulov writes:

"Comrade Tobolin (one of the greatest leaders of the Turkistanian Bolsheviks) stated at one of the sittings of the Turkistan Central Executive Committee that the Kirghiz, as economically the weakest from the Marxist's point of view, must die out anyhow. For the Revolution, therefore, it is far more important to devote the available means to the maintenance of the front rather than expending it on famine. . . ."

Thus we see that "Marxism" which the Moscow Bolsheviks present to us as the only means for saving the Colonial peoples, in Turkistan this very "Marxism" was utilized by the very same Bolsheviks to justify their policy of exterminating by famine the Turkistanian population.

This theory of "extermination by famine" of the Turkistan population the Bolsheviks carried out with great consecutiveness and revolutionary zeal. Turar Riskulov, for instance, who was in 1919 President of the Commission for the Relief of Famine, pointed out, according to a Tashkent paper entitled *Our Gazette* (see its number of February 14, 1919), "the unsympathetic view" taken by the Tashkent and local Soviets in regard to combating the famine, and suggested that a decree should be issued taxing the well to do classes, independently of their nationality, for the relief of famine. This suggestion was, however, categorically opposed by Comrade Kosakov, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Soviet who saw in such taxation a form of repression, the introduction of which he thought impossible, lest it should augment the number of their enemies. The Government agreed with the views of Kosakov: the project of taxing the well to do was thus rejected and the task of relief was left in the hands of the Soviets—that is, in the hands of those Soviets who, according to Riskulov, "were unsympathetic" towards relieving famine. (Can one imagine the Bolsheviks as defenders of the well-to-do? But the fact is that then, in 1919, the well-to-do who would have come under the decree were *only Russian*, while the fund thus obtained would be used to help the *Mussulmans only*.)

One might wonder how many of the Mussulman population did perish as the result of the Bolshevik "famine policy." The official publications in Tashkent give a figure of 1,114,000 dead. But let us quote again from the above-mentioned book of Riskulov, on p. 78 of which one finds the following:

Question put to Riskulov: "How many of the native population did die and how many survived?"

Answer by Riskulov: "We do not have exact information, but from the communications received from the provinces one can estimate that about one third of the population must have died. The nomad population have suffered most in this respect." (Calculating by the statistics of that time, the one third indicated by Riskulov amounted to about three millions (3,000,000).)

— This figure is all the more terrible, as it is estimated by the man who, use of the responsibility attached to his official position, would diminish rather than increase the extent of the catastrophe.

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VI. The Causes of Famine in Turkistan.

One may ask what were the causes that brought about in Turkistan in years (1918-1919) so terrible a famine. During the last of the pre-war

years Turkestan, especially Fergana, its most fertile province, was rapidly being transformed into a cotton plantation. The area for corn cultivation was being correspondingly reduced. Dependence of Turkestan upon imported Russian wheat began, as a result, to grow from year to year. Thus in 1917 already, during the Revolution (before October 11), the requirements of Turkestan in imported grain were estimated at 33 million puds (a pud equals 36 pounds). On the other hand, the lands most suitable for agricultural purposes had been taken over by the Tsarist Government from the native population and given to the Russian immigrants. And during the Revolution, at the very beginning of the famine, we learnt to our great sorrow that the agricultural production by the Russian settlers was as far away from the native population as were those of the Northern Caucasus or of the Samara Province. This produce of theirs was never marketed in Turkestan; the immigrants kept their wheat in their barns, and the local organs of the revolutionary power took steps to safeguard the locked-up wheat from the pretensions of the natives.

To these, so to speak, natural causes was added the policy of the Bolsheviks. In connection with this we must remember the evidence of Safarov quoted before—namely, that “the new towns raided the old towns and villages with an avalanche of requisitions and confiscations, while the Mussulman population were slowly dying out.” In other words, the Soviet power were taking everything from the Mussulman population, exposing the latter to certain death by starvation, while the Russian immigrants guarded their wheat and other agricultural produce safely in their barns.

Simultaneously there proceeded the struggle for the confiscation of lands from the Kirghiz Kazak population. The same Safarov mentioned before reported to the 10th Congress of the Communist Party that :

“since the establishment of the Soviet Power (i.e., during the two years of its existence) Russian landownership had increased in the Semirechinsk Province from 33 per cent. to 70 per cent., while the number of the Kirghiz exterminated was to be estimated at 35½ per cent.”

In another passage he relates that .

“on the routes used by the nomads the Russian immigrants placed beehives in order that they might invoke the right, in case of passage through them, to the requisition of cattle .”

It must be noted that all this—the confiscation of lands and the requisition of cattle on account of alleged despoliation of beehives— took place with the full approval and support of the local Soviet authorities.

The transit roads between Turkestan and the wheat-producing regions of the Aktiubinsk and Akmolinsk Provinces were in good state, and communication over them had not been interrupted during the most horrible period of famine—the summer of 1918. At the time, when in Tashkent a pud of flour cost 70-80 roubles, in Aktiubinsk, which was connected with Tashkent by a direct railway line, a pud of flour was selling in the open market at 4-5 roubles. And this flour was not being brought to Turkestan; if it was taken there, it certainly did not reach the local population. The private transport of flour, whether by railways or by camels, was prohibited under the penalty of requisition and shooting of the guilty.

The native population saw their salvation only in flight. Evidence of this is furnished by the same Safarov, who says that :

“In Perovsk (Kzyl-Orda of today, in Kazakhstan) sat the Soviet autocrat Gerahot. From him fled the whole tribe of Kirghiz. During the flight about a

million persons died out" (see the *Moscow Pravda*, No. 123, June 20, 1920).

It was not a whit better in the settled regions of Turkestan. In this connection I will mention in a word or two the Province of Fergana, the most rich and fertile region in the whole of Middle Asia. Owing to the famine that had begun, the Moscow Government reduced the food taxes in this region to 50 per cent but by the endeavours of the local Russian Bolsheviks in Turkestan "the tax was collected to the extent of 120 per cent." (see report of Khodjaev to the Turkestan Central Executive Committee of July 31, 1923). Moreover the Turkestan Soviet Government conceded to the Red Army the right of "self provisioning" - i.e., to procure their provisions with the means at their disposal. And here are the results. The population of Namagan district (which suffered least from famine) in 1914 amounted to 303,790, while in 1920, after the famine of 1918-1919, it numbered only 190,675 souls (see the paper *Turkestan* of December 16, 1922).

VII Later Policy of the Bolsheviks in Turkestan.

Grown stronger "on the skeletons of the Turkestanian proletariat"—an expression taken from the book of Tutar Riskulov (p. 77) quoted previously—the Turkestan Bolsheviks, supported by the Moscow centre, carried out the policy of "deepening the colonial revolution" against the interests of National Turkestan. The Moscow Government acted simultaneously in two diametrically opposed directions. On the one hand Pan-Islamist agitators were sent to Turkestan with Maxlevi Muhamed Barakatulla (from India, the former collaborator of the German agency in Afghanistan during the Great War); while on the other hand they resisted and fought even the slightest manifestation of Nationalism in Turkestan itself. Seeing that a means of directly influencing the Turkestanians would be highly advantageous to them, the Moscow Bolsheviks began to organize a Communist Party among the Mussulmans. The first conference of this organized party was convened in Tashkent on May 21 23th 1919. "The Declaration to the Peoples of the East" was issued to the world, of course, in the name of this party of the Mussulman Communists. The declaration was addressed to "the oppressed labouring brethren of India, Afghanistan, Persia, China, Asia Minor and Eastern Asia." This declaration contained the tale of the "national liberation" of Turkestan and of great services rendered by the Soviet power, and called upon the "oppressed brethren of the East" to support the All-Russian Communist Party in their struggle for the "overthrow of the yoke of the Western colonizers." And yet it was just at the very same time when the Declaration was published that the events were taking place in Turkestan so vividly described by Safarov and Riskulov, which have been previously quoted—namely, the physical extermination of the Turkestan population. The revolutionary appeals of the Moscow Bolsheviks for the unification of the Mussulman world, for the struggle against the West, could not have passed without producing "nationalistic" consequences within the frontiers of Soviet Russia itself as well. The "Mussulman Communist organizations" of Turkestan put their own interpretation upon these appeals, seeing it in the light of the necessity of the unification of all the Turkish tribes in Russia, from Azerbaijan and the Volga to Turkestan, under the banners of "A United Turkestan Soviet Republic" and under the guidance of Soviet Russia. The Soviet Government became rather alarmed. They did not like the idea of the unification, not only of all the Turkish tribes on the other side of the Caspian Sea, but even within

Turkestan itself. A certain O. Muravski (V. Lopokhov) in his pamphlet "Sketches of the Revolutionary Movement in Middle Asia" (the Uzbek State Publication Dept., Tashkent, 1926) writes as follows on this interpretation of "the Musselman Communist organization" (see p. 26):

"The organization of the local masses followed the unhealthy part of the utilization by the nationalistic intelligentsia of the Soviet power for purposes of national self-determination."

This is a further proof for our already stated assertion that the slogan of "national self-determination" is used by the Bolsheviks for consumption abroad only, and that within Soviet Russia herself the attempt to utilize the slogan is treated as a counter-revolutionary act.

VIII. Sovietization of Bukhara and Khiva: Division of Turkestan.

In Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva remained outside the Soviet power. The Emir of Bukhara and the Khan of Khiva sat on their thrones and enjoyed their power, thanks to the support of Russian arms. In Khiva, popular unrest and riots had started in 1916, and only Russian punitive forces could restore the throne to Said-Asfendiar-Bahadur-Khan. In Bukhara, the Emir Said-Mir-Alim could not even as much as show his face in the capital of his Emirate, the city of Bukhara, which he visited only once in his life, and then only under the strong guard of the Russian General Dilitenthal, in 1910, when he was still the heir to the throne. The overthrow of the Emir of Bukhara and of the Khan of Khiva was not therefore a matter of great difficulty, they held power, not by the recognition of the people over whom they "ruled," but, as already said, by dint of the Russian bayonets which guarded them from their "loyal subjects." But the brutality of the Soviet power in Turkestan dictated to the Bukharans and the Khivans the necessity of refraining from any step which might have led to an exchange of the rule of Said-Asfendiar and of Said Mir-Alim for that of the Russian Soviets. Moreover, when in the spring of 1918, after the destruction of Kokand and the overthrow of the Kokand Government, the Soviet troops prepared to attack Bukhara, the people put up a terrific resistance, and the power of the Emir appeared even to have gained in strength. If only the Emir of Bukhara had kept his promise of modest reforms, made in the first days of the February Revolution, he might have remained in power considerably longer; so frightful, so fear-inspiring, seemed to his subjects the experiments of the Turkestan Bolsheviks. The Emir of Bukhara and his "colleague," the Khan of Khiva, proved, however, by their nature, incapable of grasping the situation and curtailing the "reign of misrule." The indescribable cruelties in regard to the most peaceful upholders of the introduction of new, more human principles of government, the floggings and executions resorted to by the Bukharan potentate did their work. The Young Bukharans, who had aspired to the modest "constitution by Shariat," could not further restrain themselves, and decided to negotiate with the Bolsheviks. The latter promised them independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of Bukhara, help with money, and technical advisers for putting in order the organization of government. All this was promised on a most generous scale. The executions continued, not only of the Young Bukharans, but also of the Progressivist-Turkestanians, who happened by chance to be in Bukhara. I cannot help referring here to the execution in the spring of 1919, by the personal command of the Emir Said-Mir-Alim, of Mahmud-Hodja Behbudi, the learned Progressivist Mullah of Samarkand,

when passing through Bukhara in connection with the affairs of the Anti-Soviet Turkestanian National Organization. . . . This and many other similar executions enshrouded the Emir's Government with hatred, which had apparently forgotten to count or consider the Bolshevik danger lurking from the north. With the closest co-operation between the Young Bukharans and the Soviet troops, Bukhara was in consequence sovietized. The Emir was not in a position to resist, and he fled to Afghanistan.

Khiva also was sovietized. Both these Khanates were proclaimed as "People's Republics," independent from Soviet Russia. Treaties in which the Soviet Government recognized the complete independence and sovereignty of these states were signed with Bukhara on September 13, 1920, and with Khiva or Khoresm, as it began to be known henceforward, on March 4, 1921. But these treaties remained "scraps of paper," and the Soviet Government behaved in Bukhara and Khoresm as freely as in Turkestan. The Bukharan and Khoresmian "Nazirs" (as the Commissars of the "People's Republics" were called), who endeavoured by referring to the treaties to defend, if only the appearance of internal independence of their country, were subjected to arrests and deportations to Moscow. Thus matters progressed until 1924, when by order from Moscow the local Soviet authorities began to carry out in Turkestan, Bukhara, and Khoresm the decision on the so called "division of Turkestan into tribal states."

No "colony" is nationally so compact, so united as Turkestan. The only nationality there of non-Turkish origin is the Tadjiks, who number a little over half a million. All the rest of the population of Turkestan consists of Turks by blood and tongue. The inter-tribal demarcation in the strictest sense of the word, if some practical consideration demanded it at all, could have been entertained in regard to these two groups only: the Tadjiks on the one hand, and on the other the Turks, numbering about 12,000,000 souls. But the Soviet power thought of something else. They remembered the unsuccessful attempt "of the Mussulman Communists" the attempt which remained only on paper to achieve the unification of all the Turkish tribes round the nucleus of a Sovietic Turkestan. It was as a counterpoise exactly, to this attempt suggested essentially by the agitation of the Moscow Bolsheviks themselves, that the plan of "the division of Turkestan into tribal states" was invented. It was carried out actually in the autumn of 1924. The Bukharan and Khoresmian "People's Republics" "renounced" their independence and together with the whole of Turkestan were broken up, on the pretext of "nationality," into a series of "tribal republics" namely, into Uzbek, Turkmen, Tadjik, and Kirghiz Kazak (with the autonomous district of Karakalpak) Republics. This latter district, Karakalpak, announced its desire to separate from Kazakhstan at the last Jubilee Session which took place on the occasion of the decennary of Kazakhstan on October 4, 1930, and to enter the Federation of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republics directly as an autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on the same basis as Kazakhstan itself and Kirghizstan. The Uzbek, Tadjik, and Turkmen Republics are considered "independent" and are included on an equal footing with the Ukraine, White Russia, and the trans-Caucasian Federation, in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. These three "independent republics" and Kirghizstan make up Soviet Central Asia. The word Turkestan or anything favouring of nationalism was excluded from the political dictionary. To the autonomous republic of Kazakhstan were added the former Kazak (or by the old terminology Kirghiz) districts of Semipalatinsk, Uralak, Torgaisk, and Akmodjak. The Turkish tribes of Turkestan who aspired to unity have thus been split up

into separate "nations," and in place of "national self-determination" there took place inter-tribal demarcation within one nationality. The unity of Turkestan has been dealt a blow, the old Roman conception of "divide et impera" having thus once more triumphed.

From this moment—that is, from the end of 1924—the real Soviet era began in Turkestan, the description of which I now permit myself to begin.

IX. In the "National Republics of Turkestan."

* The National policy of the Soviet power is saturated with one general idea—namely, subordination of the national question to the interests of the Proletarian Revolution. These "revolutionary interests" brought about a destruction of the national unity of Turkestan. And with these same revolutionary interests are impregnated all further measures of the Soviet Government.

All the Turkestan Republics are called "National externally and Proletarian internally." All the "reforms," from the most important to the least significant, are without any exception whatever subordinated to this standpoint. Hence in their entirety they are incommensurable in their main parts with the national needs of Turkestan.

I will now give a general sketch of the more important of these reforms.

The most important from the Bolshevik point of view after that of "inter-tribal division" is the land reform. As a result of this reform more than 200,000 hectares of land were confiscated in that part of Turkestan where in accordance with Bolshevik data the agrarian question was most acute—namely, in Uzbekistan. This amount consisted of lands of the great landowners, of the inhabitants of towns and villages who were not themselves the cultivators of the land, of the land dealers of the mosques and other religious institutions, as well as of the lands of the ex officials of the Tsarist régime and of the Emir of Bukhara. The conception of "great landowners" differs in Turkestan from that in Russia. In the former those possessing 10 hectares of land are considered as "great landowners." These confiscated lands were not wholly used for the benefit of the landless Turkestanians. On the contrary, a considerable portion of them went as grants to the "defenders of the proletarian revolution" in the ranks of the Red Army—in other words, to the Russian soldiers. This is just another "revolutionary" form of the old Russian policy of handing lands of the Turkestanians to the Russians.

According to the Soviet statistical data, only about one-third of the landless Uzbek *dekkan* (peasants) received in consequence of this reform lands to the extent of from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ hectares.

The land reform in the Kazak region expressed itself in the redistribution at first of the meadows and pastures. To effect this it became necessary to abolish the great cattle farms, and the Soviet Government carried this work out by requisitioning cattle from the well-to-do farms and distributing them among the paupers. By this means the Bolsheviks succeeded first in "declassing" the Kazak villages, and secondly in drastic reduction of the number of cattle, as testified by the latest Soviet statistical data. The Kazakhstan newspapers claim that in many districts the number of cattle has become reduced by two-thirds.

The same picture is obtained also in regard to the arable lands: large farms split up into small separate farms and a proportionate increase in the number of the needy smallholders. For the basic result aimed at by the Soviet land reform is the increase of the number of smallholders of small farms incapable

of self-support. Such a condition of things is brought about by the Soviet power for the purpose of compelling the Turkestanians firstly to enrol into the system of "collectivization," and secondly to cultivate, by preference, cotton. The smallholders unable to maintain their farms are compelled to turn to the Government for help. And this help is given on the condition that the applicant should enrol in the "collectives" and undertake to sow cotton on his allotment, either wholly or to the extent of 75 per cent. Hence the enormous increase in Turkestan cotton cultivation. The area of the irrigated land will, according to the Soviet data, attain in 1932 3,290,500 hectares (see "The controlling figures of the Five-Year Plan for the development of the industry U.S.S.R.," p. 43)—that is, it will be by 443,500 hectares less than in 1913. On the other hand, the cotton area already in 1928 considerably exceeded the pre-war level (in 1913 the area under cotton in Turkestan was 582,400 hectares). In 1930 the area under cotton attained to about a million hectares.

Thus a considerable portion of the land meant for wheat and rice is now under cotton cultivation. The dependence of Turkestan upon the wheat imported from Russia will thus grow from year to year. In 1928, for instance, the needs of Turkestan in imported wheat was estimated at 34,000,000 puds, in 1929 at 40,000,000 puds, while at the end of the Five-Year Plan, i.e., in 1932, when the cotton cultivation plan must be accomplished, i.e., when Soviet Russia will not only cease buying cotton from America, but will even export the surplus of her cotton abroad, Turkestan will have to import 60,000,000 puds of wheat from Russia (see the journal *Novi Vostok* ("The New East"), Nos. 23-24, article by Shlegel, "Turkestan-Siberian Railway").

Such is the result of the Soviet land reform in the central provinces of Turkestan, its complete transformation into a cotton plantation of Soviet Russia—that is, its turning into a supplier of raw material, in exchange for which Turkestan must feed itself, not with its own bread but with that from Russia imported on the Russian railways.

The very form of solution of the land question in Turkestan was the outcome of the necessity of "artificially creating the class struggle" among the native population of the country. The National, the healthy state interests of Turkestan, demanded a totally different approach to the agrarian problems. Uzbekistan and Kazakstan are the most characteristic provinces of Turkestan. I will therefore dwell upon these. The solution of the land question in Uzbekistan, and consequently of the cotton problem also, depends not on the destruction of the country by "confiscations," but on the opening up of new areas by carrying on irrigation work on a large scale. In accordance with the statistical data of the Bolsheviks themselves in the valleys of Syr-Daria and Amu-Daria about seven to eight million hectares of land could be irrigated, of which a good half could have been allotted to cotton. The project for the irrigation of these millions of hectares of land has been worked out for many years (see the project of the engineer Risenkampf). The Soviet Government, whenever it suits them, raise a noise about this project, but the money required for its realization is used for Communistic agitations in the countries of the East.

In the Kazak province of Turkestan the basis for the solution of the agrarian problem lies, firstly, in the stoppage of the influx of Russian settlers; secondly, in the return to the Kazak-Kirghiz at least of the lands taken from them during the period of Soviet power, and, thirdly, in the settling of the nomadic population. But the Soviet Government, contrary to their own formal decisions of 1924 and 1925 forbidding settlement of the Russians in

the Kazak-Kirghiz provinces, set themselves to a wide organization of the settlement movement. In 1920 and 1921, it is true, there were attempts to restore confiscated lands to their owners, but the initiators of this restoration were accused of Chauvinism and counter-revolution.

The Soviet Government truly began the task of settling the nomads. But how? According to the plan, during 1930 there should have been settled 84,340 Kazak-Kirghiz families. But the Soviet newspaper *Enbekshi Kazak*, in its number of September 11, 1930, states that "thanks to the negative attitude adopted by the local organs of the Powers this plan will not be carried out." But this did not in any way prevent the Bolshevik telegraphic agency from spreading the news, exactly a week after this statement by the chief Kazakhstan official gazette, that the 84,340 Kazak-Kirghiz families had already been settled. While obstructing the settlement of the Kazak-Kirghiz, the Soviet Government are doing their best to accelerate the settlement of the Russian emigrants in Kazakhstan. The Soviet Five-Year Plan foresees that by the end of 1932 more than 400,000 Russian peasants will be settled in the region of the Turkestan-Siberian railway line, which plan, of course, is being carried out with great accuracy.

The Russian settlement in Turkestan is explained away as the "expression of international solidarity between the Russians and the Turkestanians." To the protests of the Turkestanian Bolsheviks themselves, the Moscow Bolsheviks reply either by threats, or by pointing out that "the number of the Russians settling in Turkestan annually does not exceed the annual growth of the national population" [see the Tashkent *Pravda Vostoka* ("The Truth of the East"), March 4, 1929].

Before coming to power the Russian Bolsheviks recognized the right of the peoples comprising Russia to separation, and the formation of their own national states. Later, when they consolidated their power in Turkestan, depriving the native population of all their political rights, Lenin and the Central Committee of the Communist Party suggested to their Turkestanian agents to let Turkestanians participate in the government of the country in proportion to their number. Lenin did not, of course, know the proportional relation of the native population to the Russian population, or else he would not have made such a suggestion, for the proportional representation meant ninety-five Turkestanians to five Russians and others. Neither Lenin nor the Central Committee responded when "the rebels," openly and with firm decision, stated that there existed "no national question" in Turkestan, and that they as internationalists did not recognize any national questions within Soviet Russia. But the centre could not, nevertheless, neglect entirely the national question. A new formula had to be invented, a formula that would outwardly be in keeping with the Bolshevik slogans on the rights of nations, while in substance they would reinforce the Soviet denials of the same national questions. This formula consisted in creating republics in form national and in substance "proletarian." And in these republics the Bolsheviks set themselves to the so-called "nationalization"—that is, bringing closer the machinery of government to the local population. What did this nationalization mean? Not the actual handing over of the machinery to the native population, as the local Bolsheviks thought it at first, but that, while preserving every attribute of the hegemony of the Moscow Party and the Moscow Communists, only the *technical personnel* of the machinery was to be drawn from among the people who possessed the knowledge of the local dialects. Soon schools began to be opened all Turkestan where Russians could learn the local dialects. Behind the backs of the "native" commissars

and Presidents of Central Committees (i.e., Presidents of the Republics, thus raised to a place of authority) stood Russian "experts," who were, and are actually, the real accomplisshers of Turkestan's destiny. The chairmen of the Central Executive Committees of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan—Yuldashev Akhunbabaev and Eltai Ernazaroff—were both, when they received these appointments, completely illiterate.

The "proletarian substance of the outwardly national" republics of Turkestan was, of course, to find its full expression in the maiden participation of the Turkestan National Proletariat in the State building. But does there exist that "national proletariat" whom the Moscow Government could entrust with the government of Turkestan? Does the "national proletariat," if any, actually participate in the State building in Turkestan? I could quote innumerable data proving the non-participation of the national proletariat in the government of the country, and, moreover, proving that the Moscow Government are doing their utmost to prevent the creation of such a proletariat. But I will limit myself to quoting from a speech of one of the greatest Bolshevik leaders and the closest colleague of Stalin, of Shalva Eliava at the 4th Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. in December, 1928. The latter, criticizing the statement of the author that power in Turkestan was wholly in the hands of the Moscow agents, said:

"One must not forget that the Uzbekistanian Republic is working in the absence of the proletariat. Proletariat in Uzbekistan is a somewhat vague category. The skilled workers from among the Uzbeks do not yet exist. . . . If there are any skilled workers they are from among the immigrants—the Russians" (quoted from the shorthand report; see Bulletin of the 4th Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., No. 21, pp. 47-48).

The "Uzbek Republic" is one of the most developed, most "socialistic" provinces of Turkestan, even to a greater extent also than other provinces. And if in Uzbekistan such is the state of the "national proletariat," if Uzbekistan is "working without its proletariat," what could one say of the rest of Turkestan?

The readers may draw their own definite conclusions on "the proletariat substance" of these republics. But this does not in any way restrain the Bolsheviks of Moscow from announcing to the world the "Proletarian Dictatorship" in Turkestan, without mentioning a word about the fact that this dictatorship is wholly in the hands of the Russian proletariat.

"The Socialistic reconstruction of the economic life" of Turkestan is actually a very sound fastening of our country to the needs of the Russian centre. I quoted at the beginning of this article the words of the Bolshevik Zatonaki to the effect, "if for the strengthening of the Russian centre it became necessary to rob the outlying regions, we will not hesitate to do so."

And this is exactly what is taking place now in Turkestan, "the robbing of the country for the strengthening of the centre of the world revolution. . . ."

Schools have been opened by the Bolsheviks by thousands; the pupils therein are counted in hundreds of thousands. One often hears of different universities and of the thousands of Turkestanian "students" studying in them. We are well informed about these schools. There are many of them there; but the great majority are kept for the children of the Russians. In 1928, out of the 1,600 schools designated for the children of the Kazaks only 14 per cent. were provided with their own buildings. The rest represented some place where children "learnt" lying on the bare floors, without manuals or papers. From the 4,000 to 5,000 students in the Middle Asian State

University, the only institute with a claim to be a high school, the native Turkestanians number in all 350 [see the Tashkent Gazette *Pravda Vostoka* ("The Truth of the East"), June 11, 1930]; all the rest are the children of Russians.

If the "proletariat of Turkestan" is a somewhat vague category, the "proletarian substance" of the so-called "national republics" is also more than "somewhat vague."

Conclusion.

I have attempted to give in the foregoing pages a compressed picture of Turkestan under the Soviet power. In doing so I have faithfully kept to the official sources of the Bolsheviks themselves. Were not the practical realization of the Soviet "liberation" slogans providing us with weapons of attack, our struggle would have no meaning at all.

But the "Dictatorship of the Russian proletariat in Turkestan" is more than the realization by the Russian Bolsheviks and the Russian workers of the State power in our country; it is an unheard-of affront to the national dignity of our people. I have in mind such offensive facts as forcing the natives to go on their knees. To this the Tashkent paper *Kızıl Usbekistan* referred again in 1925 (April number), and a repetition of this affront was reported by the exceptionally well-informed organ of the Russian-Social Democrats in Berlin, *The Socialistic Herald*, in its number of November 8, 1930. I have in view the insults meted out by the Russian workers to the native workers; the beating of numbers of workers and even pogroms, as for instance the pogroms in the town of Pavlodar and at the station Aja-Kuz on the Turkestan-Siberian railway line. I could quote innumerable data confirming these facts. The whole of the Soviet press of Turkestan has lately been full of manifestations of "Great Russian Chauvinism" in regard to the Turkestanians. The Soviet power in Moscow writes opposing this "Great Russian Chauvinism," but the Bolsheviks in Turkestan continued their work, sure of remaining unpunished. This is why the Turkestanians, who at the beginning of the October Revolution stood only for autonomy and, since the latter revolution, for independence from Soviet Russia, now since the autumn of 1921 stand for independence from Russia generally. Bolsheviks have taught Turkestan to look towards England. The Tashkent journal *Za Partiya* ("For the Party") (April, 1928) printed the reprimand administered to Sir Austen Chamberlain by the meeting of Dekkan (peasants) of twenty-eight villages of Samarkand province "for his unsatisfactory policy." The same Tashkent journal in another number stated that many of the Uzbek peasants at the time when the Bolsheviks were collecting for the Aerial Fleet under the heading "Our Answer to Chamberlain" willingly gave money thinking that it was going to be placed at the disposal of . . . Chamberlain.

England and the "British motif" generally play a great rôle in the struggle on the ideological front which is now going on in Turkestan. The Soviet press ascribes the slogan "better England than Moscow" (very much in currency now in Turkestan) to the national leaders of our country (all of whom, by the way, are now either in prison or exiled). The same paper, *For the Party*, in its number of October, 1929, and the Tashkent gazette *The Truth of the East*, lately reproduced passages from the speeches of the Nationalists with the following purport:

"We must wait for help from outside, especially from England, as from a country the more cultured, economically the stronger, and numerically the less, which does not threaten Turkestan with colonization."

It is difficult to verify this statement, but one thing is certain, and it is this, that the position of Egypt under England seems to the Turkestanians to be far better than the present form of "the outwardly national and inwardly proletarian" Republic of Turkestan.

"In India there are only 20,000 English to 800,000 railwaymen. . . . Colonization, that is, confiscation of lands, is not England's policy," stated the paper *For the Party*, and it represents a fully deserved answer of the Turkestanians to the Moscow Bolsheviks after the thirteen years of propaganda.

I would that the Indian revolutionaries who look to Moscow would give a careful consideration to this answer of the Turkestanians to the Soviet Government and the Moscow Communist International.

TURKESTAN COTTON AND THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

ACCORDING to the latest news from the "cotton front," orders have been given by the Central Committee of the Communist party of Central Asia for the mobilization of 100,000 peasants to be employed on the "socialized sector," 50,000 of whom are destined for the cotton plantations.

In Transcaucasia for similar purposes 10,000 *comsomoles* (communist youth) and 1,000 students are being mobilized, together with a certain number of school teachers, these last two elements for propaganda. The peasants of the plains in Azerbaijan are to be prevented from leaving for the mountain pasturages, as is their custom—and a necessity—in summer, in order that they may be set to work in the cotton fields.

These measures have already produced a certain repercussion in the countries in question. In Turkestan militant communists have been killed, in Azerbaijan, on May 18, peasants assassinated a member of the government, Husi Hajiev, formerly People's Commissar for Justice, and at the time of his death a Director of Irrigation, who was one of the leaders in the campaign for the "cotton independence" of the Soviet Union.

These events show the seriousness of the situation. The Government claim that the cotton produced is 98 per cent. of the amount which was aimed at.

THE LAW REGULATING THE CONSERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES IN PERSIA, DATED NOVEMBER 3, 1930

WITHIN recent years the newly found States in the Middle East, once torpid backwaters of the Turkish Empire, decided that the correct establishment of their laws regarding antiquities was a duty incumbent upon them. Under the able guidance of the late Gertrude Bell, Iraq put this section of its house in order, and very recently the modern régime in Persia decided that, in similar manner, it must be up to date.

The archaeological wealth of these lands is well and broadly known, and recent research has indicated that in all probability the land of Persia hides beneath its soil the earliest history of our present civilization. It is also probable that, as our knowledge of these early times and peoples increases, the extent of exploration and investigation in Persia will also increase, and a clear and exactly defined code of laws governing this work is highly desirable, both for Persia and the scientific world at large.

In any country, and more particularly in these Middle Eastern lands, the laws of antiquities can be divided into two very well-defined sections:

- (a) The law governing scientific research
- (b) The law governing trading in antiquities.

In theory these two sections are distinct and separate, in practice they are inseparably connected. In the high interests of science, in the widest acceptance of the term, territorial boundaries and national frontiers should be obliterated. In the interests of commerce they must be carefully observed and guarded. The two interests inevitably clash, and the dealer in antiquities is quick to see and avail himself of any weakness or loophole in the regulations governing his trade by means of which he can turn an honest—or scarcely honest—penny.

It is to be doubted if any State is truly interested in archaeological scientific research. The high ideals of modern democracy are too broad and general, and, even when purged from political influence, are concentrated more on the people of the present and the future than on the people of the past. The States in the Middle East are in no respect exceptional in this, and there is very scant genuine interest in archaeological research among their peoples. Of dealers in antiquities there are many, and in the art of dealing they are highly qualified, but mercenary interests predominate. The keenness of the Western

422 THE LAW REGULATING THE CONSERVATION OF

scientist to discover or decipher the ancient remains is therefore looked upon, by the mass of the people, either as a mild and harmless form of madness, or as a subterfuge to cover espionage or the acquisition of buried treasure.

No matter what the ideal or object may be, the laws of the land must be established, and in their drafting the following factors must be closely kept in view:

1. That archaeological research must be facilitated, because the big powers of the West desire it.

2. That the existing monuments must be maintained and preserved, because it is the correct thing to do.

3. That as far as possible all objects of historical or archaeological value be kept in the country, because of good natural and sound national selfishness.

4. That the archaeologist must be permitted to carry away with him some of the objects which he discovers, because otherwise he would not come, but the amount removed shall be the minimum to attract him.

5. That dealers in antiquities, being a necessary evil and a source of revenue, be officially recognized, because, otherwise, they will become smugglers.

In many respects the new Persian law of antiquities is admirable. Everything of artistic merit dated prior to the end of the Zend dynasty is to be considered a national monument, and is to be duly recorded in a Government inventory. That is very sound and very ambitious, and, for many years to come, most probably impossible to accomplish. The rights of private owners are in no way infringed, though certain restrictions in the matter of building on to, or in the proximity of, a national monument, might, unless applied without prejudice, present considerable difficulties to the owner. Likewise the purchase or sale and the repair or restoration of inventoried edifices requires the sanction of Government.

Under Article 10 of the new law it is established that all objects which can be classified as national monuments discovered on private property are the property of the State, though the State, at its discretion, may gratuitously grant the owner of the land half the value of the object found. This article is possibly a very necessary one. It is carefully designed, but despite disguise it has somewhat the appearance of a trap. The average Persian is by no means guileless in money matters, and the bait is likely to be viewed with a measure of distrust. It must also be realized that in the estimation of the finder the value of the find is high, generally fabulous. Well-organized smuggling is likely to become a profitable occupation, and the integrity of dealers sorely tried.

That section of the law which applies to excavation opens with the

definite establishment of the exclusive right of the State to excavate. This right, however, is transferable to scientific institutions, societies, or to private individuals, and the object of such excavations is classified as "scientific" or "commercial." This arrangement is unsound and dangerous, and opens the possibility of indiscriminate digging by unskilled individuals, whose only object is the acquisition of material for purposes of sale. The deplorable results of work of this description in other countries is so widely known that to legalize it is incurring uncalled-for risks.

Article 14 of the law is the one which is of most vital importance to archaeological expeditions who propose to excavate. It contains the conditions under which all objects discovered will be divided between the State and the excavator. Of all the objects found, a number not exceeding ten can be appropriated by the State, the remainder is divided equally between the State and the excavator. As it is definitely laid down that the period of excavations shall not exceed one year, it is evident that the State possesses the right to secure the cream of the excavator's labours. The principle of this regulation is inevitable, but it remains to be seen whether the denuded balance left to the excavator will be sufficiently attractive to justify the expense of his labour.

The portion of the law dealing with the work of excavation is very brief and there are a number of vital points omitted.

(a) No Government inspector need be maintained on the site, and the right of Government inspection and control of the work is not established.

(b) No records of discovery either by plans or photographs are insisted upon.

(c) No standard of qualification or ability is demanded in the excavator.

These omissions are serious. Though the modern excavator, with recollections of the Old Turkish régime in other lands, will welcome the relief which the absence of (a) implies, (b) and (c) are regulations which in the broad interest of archaeology are necessary, and though it may be asserted that, as far as "scientific" excavations are concerned, they are unnecessary, experience has indicated that their omission is a mistake.

The section of the law controlling the commerce in antiquities is brief, but there is reference to a supplementary list of rules which has not yet been issued. The present law stipulates that all dealers must be licensed by the State, and penalties are imposed for all dealing by unauthorized persons.

An export tax of 5 per cent. in addition to any customs duty is imposed on all articles exported, and all such articles must be declared

424 THE CONSERVATION OF ANTIQUITIES IN PERSIA

and export permits secured for them, the State reserving the right to purchase any article at its declared value. The excavators' share in the case of scientific excavations is exempt from all kinds of taxation. This section of the law is sound, and it is doubtful if it can be improved upon.

In general principle the law as it stands is satisfactory ; in practice it may lead to trouble. Commercial excavations are to be deprecated, but if judiciously and carefully controlled, they may tend to decrease the ever-present danger of illicit digging, and consequent profit to the State may accrue. The appropriation by the State of the ten most precious and prized objects of a year's work may break the heart of the excavator, it will most certainly dishearten him, and place serious temptation in his way.

THE KHYBER PASS

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. E. CROCKER, C.M.G., D.S.O.

IF the romance of the East is to be found in India, then surely the romance of India centres in the Khyber Pass. The fascination of this narrow roadway, for centuries the principal gateway to the plains of India from the north-west, grips the traveller on entering its forbidding portals, a mile or two to the north of Fort Jamrud. The tremendous height of the hills, the stern majesty of their peaks and ridges, and the far-flung spurs which support the intolerable burden of their weight, seem to dwarf the efforts of man, while their age, stretching back to the days when the world was young, mock his earliest records of history.

Through the centuries these old hills have watched endless processions filing along their valleys, armies and traders, the pomp and panoply of war, and the peaceful caravan of the merchant. Their rocky walls have witnessed the tramp of the legions and the weary feet of countless thousands of beasts of burden bearing the commerce of Bokhara, Afghanistan, and Peshawar through the mountain passes. As they went in the old days so they go today, but with this difference: thanks to the Pax Britannica, once across the frontier on their way to Peshawar they are safe from raider and oppression in the form of extortion for safe conduct.

Some such thoughts as these filled our heads as my companion and I, accompanied by a khasadar, one of the local levies recruited by the Political Department, started on our long ride of twenty miles through the Pass one glorious morning of early November. We left Jamrud Fort immediately after an early breakfast, intending to reach Landi Kotal in the evening. Though slow, this was by far the best way of seeing the Pass and the people who dwell and journey therein. Soon after leaving Jamrud we entered the frowning gate of the Pass, where the vast ranges of the Khyber hills rise on either hand, from time immemorial the custodians of the ancient way. The magic of the Pass made its appeal to us as we rode along, taking a lively interest in everything we saw. And there was plenty to see on that wonderful morning—men, camels, and donkeys moving up and down the road, the men singly or in little groups, all armed to the teeth with magazine rifle and well filled belt of cartridges. No man dares to go abroad unarmed in this wild land, where his very life may depend on his skill and the accuracy of his rifle. Flocks and herds of camels and donkeys laden with firewood and other goods plodded along, their drivers trudging stolidly behind. The camels as a rule kept well to their side of the road, but not so the donkeys. Running free they took up the whole width of the road, tossing their heads and jockeying the camels out of the way to get at some particular patch of herbage which caught their fancy, and in short behaving as if they owned the whole place. At one point on the road we were overtaken, as we toiled slowly up the long hill to the neck of the Pass, by a flock of donkeys carrying great loads. They had no scruple in pushing past us, led by two priceless little beasts whom we at once christened Mutt and Jeff. With colossal impudence they pushed in between us, forcing Polly, my mare, over to the outside of the road.

If we toiled till we reached the Fort of Shagai, keeping unsleeping watch and ward over the Pass. The road then plunged down again into the valley under the Fort of Ali Musajid, the scene of desperate fighting in by-gone years. Here we stopped for a while close to the little mosque which gives its name to the place, and watered the horses at a stream which ran along the side of the river. We then had a brew of excellent green tea, at one of the little booths nestling under the trees close to the mosque. We sat chatting with a few men there while we drank our tea and exchanged news. They had nothing much to tell us, just the ordinary news of the frontier. A woman carried off—a feud—the offender shot and killed. "We could have shown you his body, sahib," they said with a grim chuckle, "if you had come a day or two earlier." The cream of the jest lay, however, in the fact that the raider got confused and carried off the other man a mother-in-law instead of his wife. Mothers-in-law are a force to be reckoned with even in these parts of the world. Our friends were inclined to agree that the unfortunate man had not had a fair gallop for his money.

As we resumed our way, they told us that we might meet a "qasila," or caravan, coming in from Kabul at any moment, and they advised us to go back a short way and then strike up onto the motor road, which hugged the great knees of the spurs, some considerable height above the lower or camel road. We would thus be out of the way if we met the caravan in the narrow "tang" or ravine just ahead and, at the same time, we should have a wonderful panorama of the camels and other animals as they filed through the Pass at our feet. This decided us, and we ascended to the higher road.

Turning a corner we had a grand view of the ravine, a tremendous chasm slashed bodily in the living rock by the force of uncounted centuries of rain and floods. The cliffs rose sheer on either hand, while below us the river bed wound round the corners of the spurs which were spanned at frequent intervals by solidly built stone bridges on which the camel road, scooped with infinite labour out of the wall of the ravine, crossed from side to side. It was a fascinating scene, its simple grandeur made a strong appeal to our senses. We dismounted, and sat on the low parapet to absorb its fascination. As we did so, we saw our old friends Mutt and Jeff leading their companions down the hill past the mosque and over the first bridge. At the same time, round a far corner, appeared several men and donkeys, the forerunners of the caravan. Close on their heels, the gigantic form of a Maya camel, laden with a quarter of a ton of carpets, loomed huge and amazing. He was closely followed by the rest of the string of some dozen of his companions, and then the whole caravan came into view. Silently, slowly, with a majestic stride, they swung along, making light of their tremendous burdens. "Now," we said, "the fun will begin," and, sure enough, it *did*. First of all, the advanced guard of donkeys met nose to nose round a sharp bend. Mutt and Jeff, nothing daunted, swept past the strangers, and made straight for the leading camels, closely followed by the rest of the circus of about fifty or sixty donkeys, mules, and ponies, their bulky loads jutting far out on either side of their saddles. Men shouted and cursed, yelled at the donkeys, cursed the camels and each other, all the while invoking the aid of Allah and the Prophet (on Whom be Peace).

"Oh son of four generations of noseless mothers"—this to a donkey—"take thy evil carcass away from my camel."

"Oh thou, whose unmentionable aunts and she-cousins will surely roast in Hell"—this to a camel—"refrain from pushing my donkey off the road."

"Oh ye sons of pigs"—this to each other—"by black sheitans and countless

generations of burnt mothers, remove thy immoral and obscene animals from the road." Meanwhile, no one does anything except beat the donkeys and push them from side to side, often under the nose of the camels. Left to themselves, the animals would soon have sorted themselves out without the least fuss. They are used to it from the day they were born, and trotted along at their mother's heels, and they take it all in the day's work.

From our lofty perch we have an uninterrupted view of this interlude, and all three of us, including the khassadar, are thoroughly enjoying it. At length the donkeys and mules move along, and the caravan resumes its stately march. We have plenty of time, and sit there and watch them. They are worth watching, these magnificent camels. They have gaily coloured head-stalls, made of camel-hair rope, and are often ornamented with a pompom of coloured worsted, which has a very stylish effect. They march in long strings, lashed together by their head-ropes, and led by their owners. From time to time we see a baby, trotting by the side of the lady camel. One particularly took our fancy, dancing about, all legs and neck. We naturally christened him Wilfred. We made the further acquaintance of Wilfred when he stopped for the night in the big serai at Landi Kotal some few days later, on his return journey to Kabul. He was not at all friendly, and his manners, I regret to say, were not nice. Between the strings of camels came herds of patient little oxen, plodding along with heavy loads, on top of which a miscellaneous collection of chicken and children found a precarious perch. Then came a flock of little ponies, the strings of bells round their necks chiming merrily as they stepped gaily along the road.

But time was getting on, and we must do the same. We rode on slowly, watching the caravan below with the greatest interest. Emerging from the ravine, we found ourselves in a deep valley. We crossed the river-bed by an imposing iron bridge, and passed the pumping station which supplies the Khyber with water, all ready chlorinated and fit to drink. On our right the Khyber railway ran along an enormous embankment faced with brick. We had heard of the tremendous spates that devastate the Khyber from time to time, and when we were told that the whole of this great embankment had been carried away a few years previously, we could gather some notion of the power and extent of the floods and the difficulties with which the engineers had to contend. It is a marvellous piece of work this railway, and speaks volumes for the skill and perseverance that could triumph over its manifold obstacles. As we turn a corner the walls of rock recede and the valley widens out. We are now almost for the first time able to gain some idea of the grandeur and immensity of the hills through which we are riding—ridge piled on ridge, peak on peak, pointing their fingers to high heaven. Rains and storms through the ages have bitten deeply into their flanks and formed small gullies, every inch of which is cultivated. Villages now appear, some close to the road, others nestling under the shelter of the hills. Stern are they, rugged and strong, like the hardy tribesmen who inhabit them. Surrounded with high mud walls loopholed for musketry, they breathe defiance to their foes. Their solid watch towers are manned at night by armed men, who do not hesitate to fire on all who are rash enough to approach.

As we pass a village at the edge of the road we notice that the men are hard at work building up the walls. Our khassadar, who hails from this part of the Khyber, has an interesting story about this same village. The previous year a man from a village further down the Pass lifted a woman from this village, for which offence he was besieged in his house by the relatives of the woman. Driven to his tower, where he made a last stand, he was eventually

smoked out and killed. In revenge the village of the slayers was destroyed, and they were only then rebuilding it. In these wild lands the theft of a woman is a fruitful source of strife, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed and a family feud. These feuds, by the way, sometimes do a great deal towards preserving the peace, as a man will think twice before he slays his enemy when he knows that a feud, with possibly unpleasant consequences to himself, will probably be the result.

We find it difficult to realize that we are in Tribal Territory and no longer in British India. It has been explained to us that the road itself only is British, but nowhere else, and that we cannot move a yard off the road without the escort of a *khasadar*. In Tribal Territory the inhabitants are free to shoot each other up as much as they please without interference from us, but woe betide anyone who fires across the roads or railway. Our Political Agents insist on the Peace of the Road being strictly preserved, and every man who offends in this respect is fined Rs. 2,000, the equivalent roughly of 630 dollars. Our *khasadar* told us with great gusto of a man who was run in for firing across the road at a certain spot. He said it was the wrong place, and volunteered to show the Political Agent where he had fired. On examination it was discovered that he had not only fired across the camel road but the motor road as well, and the railway in addition. That one shot cost him Rs. 6,000, or close on 2,000 dollars, a pretty useful morning's work.

We were now in a wide open valley, dotted with villages, and thickly cultivated. Strings of women, bearing heavy copper water-pots on their heads, moved along in stately file to and from the fountains installed at intervals down the Pass by our engineers, which saves them a journey of anything up to fourteen miles a day. On the surface water is scarce, though inexhaustible springs of beautiful clear water exist at no great depth at several places. They are cheery enough these ladies, and talk and laugh merrily among themselves as they swing gracefully along. As they approach us they modestly cover their faces, though more than one bright eye looks out coyly as we pass. They are very strict in these parts, and no man must look on a woman's face. The men we meet are a cheery and friendly lot, and give us a hearty reply to our salutation of "May you not be tired," to which they either rejoin "And you too, may you not be tired," or "May you not be poor."

We now approached a large village, the home of our *khasadar*. He begged us to come in and have some food, an invitation which we gladly accepted. Dismounting at his door, we handed the horses over to some men who took them to water, while we followed our host into his house. It consisted of a large walled enclosure, within which were several houses built against the outer walls. Charpoys or string beds were brought out and piled with quilts and cushions, on which we sat. In a short time hard-boiled eggs, *chupattis* (a thin circular flour cake baked without yeast), and green tea were handed round, and we fell to with delight. This green tea is very popular in the Khyber and comes from China. It looks like coloured hot water, and has a very delicate flavour all its own. It is drunk with sugar but no milk, and is served in little rounded cups without handles.

The sun was now getting low, and we made for Landi Kotal, where we were the guests of a regiment stationed there. Our kit with the servants had been sent on in advance, and when we arrived, just in time for cocktails, we found everything ready for us.

We stayed at Landi Kotal for a few days, riding about the plateau, and visiting the Maliks. The hills recede on all sides, leaving a fertile plateau, which is dotted with villages and thickly cultivated. One morning we rode

down the Pass towards the Frontier as far as we were allowed, and had a magnificent view over Afghanistan. Before us the ground fell steeply through an immense valley down to the Frontier six miles away. Almost at our feet lay the station of Landi Khana, which guards the road from Kabul and the north. For miles we can follow the parallel ribbons of the motor and camel roads down the Pass. In the far distance we have a wonderful vista of the long, snow-clad ranges of Afghanistan, showing up distinctly in the clear light of the morning. As we look, we can see a caravan far below crossing the Frontier, and commencing the ascent to the Pass. Later on we will see them arrive at the big serai where they will pass the night. We now return to camp for lunch and a rest.

One of the most interesting events connected with the Khyber Pass is the arrival of the caravans from Kabul, which, during the winter months, arrive twice a week, bearing hides, fruit and carpets from Afghanistan and the distant lands of Bokhara and Samarkand to the rich markets of Peshawar. The long strings of heavily laden camels, often several miles in length, plodding their weary way through the Pass, are one of the most picturesque sights one can imagine. And what magnificent animals they are, these enormous Maya camels, their legs and neck thickly coated with long shaggy wool, as a protection against the bitter cold of the winter on the wind-swept plains of Bokhara where they are bred.

On entering the serai, the camels are marshalled into place by the khassadars, and are made to kneel down, with much gurgling and grunting, while their loads are removed. They are then taken to water, while the women draw water and prepare the evening meal. They are a friendly, cheery crowd these camel people from Kabul, and quite ready to exchange jokes and pass the time of day with us. Many of them are quite fair, with blue eyes, though naturally much burnt by the sun and weather. Their women are not so strictly secluded as the women of the tribesmen. Some of them are distinctly handsome of the dark gypsy type. Some of the girls are lovely. Men and women wear loose baggy pyjamas and a long shirt, worn outside. The women part their hair in the middle, and plait it in innumerable braids which hang down on each side of their face.

When the caravan has arrived, the great serai, packed to the limit, is a seething mass of camels, ponies, oxen and donkeys, grunting, braying, and lowing, which, added to the shouts of the men and the shrill cries of the women, make up a scene of pandemonium and apparent confusion difficult to describe. The khassadars, with their officers, are everywhere, guiding, directing and admonishing the crowd, and in the midst of this seeming disorder everything works in its appointed sphere to a common end, which may be summed up in the two words, rest and food.

Having obtained a pass from the political Tehsildar, we take our stand just within the gate and watch the caravan arrive. First of all comes a drove of small donkeys, led by two or three men, women behind, children and chickens lashed atop. Though tired, they enter jauntily enough, for they have passed through the perils of Afghanistan, and have crossed the border into safety. Then come the camels, long strings of them, led by a picturesque youth on foot who holds the leading rope of the front camel. They are tied head to tail by a rope from bridle to saddle. We notice that the barbarous Indian custom of tying the head-rope to a stick thrust through the nose is not done here. The caravan is now arriving in an endless stream . . . here a herd of little brown bullocks trots in, laden with big bundles, and ridden by laughing girls, some holding chickens, and some holding children in front of

them. Black-shirted women, footsore and weary, are limping behind, but there is no rest for them till their lords are fed and the haqqa bubbling. Is there not water to be drawn, and food to be prepared? To work, then, ye weary ones, and see to it that your lords want for naught, lest worse befall ye!

More camels arrive, carrying a savoury burden of hides, and then comes a sight for men and gods. A single gigantic camel, carrying his six hundred pound load of carpets without an effort, stalks majestically within, led by an infant of about five years old, who marches in full of dignity and importance, holding on firmly to the head-rope. "Where is the place for me and my camels?" he demands from the khassadars at the gate, who, much amused, show him where to go, with many a facetious remark about his caravan. With stern authority and shrill yells he makes his camel kneel down, just as his father arrives with the remainder of the string, and they all camp together. They are followed by a ringing of bells as a flock of small ponies trot in. Then come more camels, more ponies, and yet more camels, till finally the rearguard enters the gate, and all are in.

The sun is sinking rapidly behind the hills that mark the Frontier. Animals have been watered and are now busy with their evening feeds. Smoke rises from innumerable small fires, where the women are busily occupied over the evening meal:

"There's a sense of peace and quiet,
And a sound of great content."

Slowly the serai settles down for the night. There will be an early start on the morrow, and then once again the great serai will stand empty, save for an occasional wayfarer, till the arrival of the next caravan. The guardians lounge at the gates, smoking and chatting about the caravans, women, and the price of food, the everlasting topics of conversation.

Times have changed, and the mighty mail-clad hosts have their counterpart in the modern armies, marching along first-class motor roads. The heavily-laden caravan still plies backwards and forwards as of yore, but passengers are now conveyed in motor-buses. Old methods change, just as the modern rifle has replaced the ancient jezail. In the Khyber, as elsewhere, change is eternal and never ceasing. Motor roads and the railway have replaced the old trade route along the river-beds. Unarmoured, khaki-clad armies take the place of the armoured hosts of old, but among the people themselves there is no change. They are still wild, lawless, intolerant of foreign rule as of old, and as fiercely jealous of their ancient rights. Still, even in this remote corner of the world, men are listening to the counsel of Dives, and are beginning to realize that it is easier to make a livelihood by labour and commerce than by fight and foray.

Only the Pass itself knows no change. As it was, so must it ever be, combining within its narrow portals at once the romance and the stern reality and struggle of life.

REVIEWS

La Suppression des Capitulations en Perse. By Dr. Ahmad Khan, Matine-Daftary. With Preface by H.E. Husain Khan Ala, Persian Ambassador to France. Paris. 1930. Price 35 frs.

When the Allied Powers, rendered helpless by their lack of unity and by the failure of their ill-conceived post-war policies, found themselves compelled to accept at the hands of the Turks the abolition of the extra-territorial privileges of foreigners, which have long been familiarly known as the "Capitulations," it was clear to most observers that it would not be long before the somewhat similar, but much less extensive, privileges of foreigners in Persia were challenged, on grounds rather of *amour propre* than of practical inconvenience or legal or diplomatic embarrassment.

The announcement that such steps were in contemplation was made by H.I.M. Riza Khan in 1927, and by the end of 1928 extra-territoriality in Persia had ceased to exist. Dr. Ahmad Khan describes in great, perhaps excessive, detail, the origin of extra-territoriality, and recounts, with pardonable pride, the steps taken by his countrymen to provide themselves with a judicial system calculated to enjoy public confidence. It is true, as he remarks, that the abolition of extra-territoriality was welcomed in Persia as the disappearance of an ancient servitude. Yet perhaps the best evidence of the almost complete absence in Persia of serious friction or sources of embarrassment from the extra-territorial status of foreigners is that, as far as can be ascertained, Dr. Ahmad Khan's present work is the only one in existence dealing with the subject so far as concerns Persia, and of the hundred or more books referring to the "Capitulations" in Turkey and elsewhere, only two or three make any reference to the working of extra-territoriality in Persia except purely incidentally.

The body of customary law and treaty rights affecting the status of foreigners in Persia came to be known as the "Capitulations" on the analogy of Turkey, in which country this general term had long been in use. It was a misnomer which doubtless imported prejudice, for it was not intended to mean, and is in no way connected with the current use of the word as synonymous with, "surrender"—viz., the submission of unbelievers to the Moslem Caliph in order to obtain peace, still less the unwilling surrender by Moslem nations to stronger European Powers of privileges for their subjects. The term is derived from the Italian *capitulazione*, meaning nothing more than a convention or an agreement expressing in orderly form the various stipulations agreed on.

The system in Turkey broke down by its own weight and because it was widely regarded by Turks as an obstacle to the exercise of their sovereign rights. The position in Persia was entirely different, and the privileged status formerly enjoyed by foreigners in Persia may be rightly regarded, not as humiliating to Persians or a derogation of the full sovereign rights of Persia, but as very much, to the credit of the Persian Government.

Instead of regarding immunities of jurisdiction as exceptions to international law, and hence as affronts to Persian sovereignty, they might have been more properly regarded as evidence of a more enlightened and more liberal interpretation of the law of nations than has yet been granted in Europe, the place of its origin, though not of its exclusive development or application.

Such immunities are of very great antiquity. King Amasis (579-526 B.C.), according to Herodotus, allowed Greek merchants to establish themselves at Naucratis, and permitted them to be judged by their own magistrates according to their own laws and customs. Similar immunities were granted by the Athenians, Romans, and the Visigoths under Theodoric. Justinian allowed Armenians in Constantinople to settle questions of marriage inheritance, etc., according to their own laws, and the Caliph Omar granted to the Greek monks in Palestine about A.D. 636 special exemption from local jurisdiction. Arabs at Canton in China were allowed to be judged and ruled by their own qadis in the ninth century, and the Turks enjoyed extra-territorial rights in Constantinople under the Byzantine Emperors. Cosmas tells us that the Caliph Harun-al-Rashid gave special guarantees and privileges to French merchants in the same century, as also did the Emperors of Byzantium in the tenth century to the Varangians (Waringes). Nestor gives the text of this treaty, which is the earliest documentary evidence of the granting of immunity from local jurisdiction to foreigners. The only difference between this document and the "Capitulations" in force a thousand years later is that the earlier privileges were reciprocal; the latter appear, at first sight, to be one-sided.

The practice of conceding to foreign merchants the right to carry with them the jurisdiction of their own laws outside their own territory became quite general with the gradual extension of commerce. It was the rule in Constantinople in the tenth century, and is still the practice in several Eastern countries. "The notion of a territorial law is European and modern", the idea of personal law is far older, and, it may well be, far more equitable and better suited to the conditions of the modern world.

The notion of a territorial law has for the time being conquered—yet it may well be that future generations, released from the fear of aggression, may find it to their advantage to grant foreigners within their

borders some measure of extra-territoriality. The pendulum has swung far, and will swing further yet; but in this, as in other matters, a reaction is bound to set in.

On one point only does Dr. Ahmad Khan's summary appear open to serious criticism on historical grounds. The extra-territorial rights provided for in the separate Compact annexed to the Treaty of Turkomanchai were not, as he suggests, extorted from a beaten nation at the point of the sword. The provisions of the treaty merely served to confirm and regularize immunities and judicial procedure which had long before been customary in Persia. The evidence for this is to be found in innumerable contemporary narratives of travellers. The wording of the clauses, indeed, indicates that the Russians in making the treaty took no undue advantage, having regard to the fact that the Persians had immediately before the treaty suffered a severe defeat in the field, had been forced to surrender valuable territory and to pay an indemnity of some three million pounds. This said, it is possible to congratulate the author unreservedly on a scholarly and welcome addition to the growing list of books on Persian history by Persian.

A. T. W.

Conflict: Angora to Afghanistan. By Rosita Forbes. With a Foreword by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K C I E., C B., C M G. Pp. 296, 48 half-tone plates, map. Cassell and Company, Ltd. 1931. 15s.

This book is an account of Mrs McGrath's strenuous journeys through the Middle East during the spring and part of the summer of 1930. Sir Percy Sykes contributes a Foreword, which forms a summary and commentary on the history of a great part of this region during the past sixteen years.

The narrative opens with a short account of the effort to create a modern and homogeneous Turkish State with the handicap imposed by the chauvinistic economic policy of the present Turkish nationalists.

From Anatolia the traveller passes rapidly through Syria and Palestine, providing a somewhat melancholy picture of the difficulties of working the Mandatory system in these two countries without, however, referring sufficiently to the material improvements by which the inhabitants undoubtedly have benefited. Nevertheless, on reading the accounts given by her and also by other observers, the general impression remains that these Mandates as yet have added nothing to the happiness of the native populations.

In Syria, stress is laid on the tragedy of the Druse - this fine and interesting race broken and subdued after a devastating war with the French. In Palestine the plight of the landless and workless Arab

peasant-farmers, and of the local shopkeepers ruined by competition from the Jewish immigrants, is depicted in dark colours.

May the future be brighter than the past.

Passing through Iraq--up to the present the most successful example of a country governed under a Mandate - emphasis is rightly laid on the important position of this new State both as a political buffer and as a link in the air communications between Europe and Asia Persia is then entered by way of Abadan, which she calls the holy city of oil likening the tank farms to mosque domes and the factory chimneys to minarets!

From her energetic peregrinations round Persia in heavily laden motor lorries during the course of which almost every town of importance was visited, many pictures as clear-cut and vivid as posters—are obtained of the contrasts and conflicts produced by the super-imposition of a new structure upon archaic foundations. Although the ground covered has already been dealt with in many books, much miscellaneous information is pleasantly imparted on the history, scenery, productions, and population. A few lapses are apparent, as for instance on page 79 when Nadir Shah is described as forcibly transporting Bakhtiari tribespeople seventy years ago.

A general summary of the present situation in Persia is given in Chapter XVI. The Pahlevi regime can be credited with much solid progress while on the debit side of the account stands the general economic policy based on exaggerated nationalism which manifests itself in the construction of a costly uneconomic trans-Persian railway, and in the Shah's declaration during a personal interview that in five or six years time no foreign officials will be needed in Persia. The statement, which presumably is based on reliable information, that the Persian Government has no intention of renewing the present agreement with Imperial Airways, Limited, whereby the Company's machines are permitted to fly along the south Persian coast, is of great interest to the British.

The latter part of this book from Chapter XVIII onwards, which describes the tour made through Azerbaijan and Kurdistan, contains information of considerable local historical interest. Details were obtained from various Russian refugees about the resistance offered by the Caucasian peasants during the spring of 1930 to the agricultural collectivization enforced by the Soviet Government. Many of these unfortunate people fled into Persian territory pursued by Soviet military forces and, according to the Persian G. O. C. at Tabriz, on June 4, 1930, a raid into Persian territory was made by a force of 2,500 Soviet troops, during which a number of Persian subjects were killed. No information is available as to whether any apology or compensation were made for this outrage.

With great enterprise, the authoress managed to make "an unauthorized excursion" to the scenes of the struggle which was then going on between the Turks and the Kurds around Mount Ararat. The Government organs of the Turkish Press brought repeated accusations against the Persian Government of helping the Kurds in this rebellion. It is, therefore, regrettable that such ambiguous statements should be made as (on p. 263): "Persian interests lay in co-operating with the Kurds"; again, "the rebels and patriots were able to draw on Tabriz for supplies of money, rifles, and ammunition." That many Persian Kurds participated in the rebellion is well known, and no doubt other Persian subjects helped in various ways; but the important point is whether the Persian authorities, directly or indirectly, took part in the affair. This has been strongly denied from Persian Government sources.

In the interests of geographical accuracy it must be pointed out that the statement contained in the following sentence (on p. 260) is quite incorrect: "From Urmeya I turned north again along the shores of the lake of the same name which is the size of Palestine." The area of Lake Urumia is given as about 1,750 square miles, while that of the Mandated territory in Palestine as about 10,000 square miles.

The return journey to Iraq was made with a small caravan along the line of the new road which is being constructed simultaneously by the Governments of Iraq and Persia across the main Kurdish range. As is pointed out, the linking up of North-Western Persia with Northern Iraq should bring important political and economic benefits to both countries. Due credit is given to the splendid work accomplished by the Assyrian levies in policing this troublous frontier region, and the anxiety of the Christian minorities as to their fate under an autonomous Iraq is also mentioned.

The book is provided with numerous good photographs, but it is a pity that the map illustrating these interesting travels was not included in the volume instead of on the paper cover. Part of the title, "Angora to Afghanistan," is, perhaps, a trifle misleading, since the traveller never set foot on Afghan soil.

D. B.-B.

Alarms and Excursions in Arabia. By Bertram Thomas. With a Preface by Sir Arnold T. Wilson. Pp. 298. Illustrations. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1931. 15s.

The author, a member of the Royal Central Asian Society, who, it will be remembered, contributed an interesting Paper to the *JOURNAL* in 1928 on the subject of the Musandam Promontory of Oman and the strange Shihuh tribe which inhabits it, is among those of the war generation who, happily, resent the parrot-cry—all too prevalent today—that the British race is stale and decadent, and seem determined to give the lie to it. The fortune of war took Bertram Thomas, as a

young infantry subaltern, to Iraq (or Mesopotamia as it then was), where, in the course of the campaign, he was selected for employment as a District Political Officer in the civil administration which had to be organized behind the fighting line to deal with the Arab inhabitants of the gradually expanding "Occupied Territories." In this rôle he served with much credit, and later on, after following for a time the fortunes of Mr St John Philby in Transjordan, he accepted the post of Financial Adviser and Wazier to H H the Sultan of Muscat. During the six years which he has spent in that appointment he has made admirable use of the opportunities afforded him in the exercise of his official functions to carry out a number of "Excursions" to the more accessible parts of the hinterland and has also, during short periods of hard earned leave, undertaken two important explorations in Southern Arabia in preparation one may say, for the great adventure which he always had at the back of his mind—the crossing of the Great Arabian Desert from south to north. This, as we all now know, he has just triumphantly accomplished having, in fact, been engaged in it when his present volume went to press—but he will soon be here to give us his account of that fine achievement in person, and the present review is not concerned with it.

The strictly geographical and other scientific results of his journeys above referred to he has already described, during his last visit to this country, to the learned societies and specialists concerned. In the volume under review he enters for the general reader, and presents in the form of a number of racy narratives the more human and lively aspects of his experiences—always interesting and often thrilling, among the Arabs of Iraq and Oman.

His 'Alarms and Excursions' are divided into five sections, yehept 'Adventures'—the first two relating to the period of his service in Iraq and constituting the 'Alarms' and his expeditions in Oman the "Excursions." The first Alarm is concerned with a very troublesome problem by which the Indian Expeditionary Force was confronted during the early days of the War—the Marsh Arabs of Lower Mesopotamia—and more particularly with our strained relations with one of their principal Shaikhs, Badr ar Rumaydh—a much-married but tough old diehard who for a long time floundered in aggressive outlawry and put considerable strain on our declared policy of treating the Arab inhabitants of the country as a 'friendly population.' Had the Force been adequately equipped with aircraft at that early stage, Shaikh Badr and others of his kidney would have presented no serious problem, but in the absence of them, it was not practicable to take effective action except by means of costly and inconvenient side shows. For these men of the marshes, like their satellites the mosquitoes, could emerge at will from their marshy haunts and bite with impunity, vanishing into a wilder-

ness of reeds at the first sign of any punitive activity on our part. Mr. Thomas gives us a graphic account of the Shaikh Badr episode, and the picture which he draws of the old warrior's final act of surrender, at long last, is a very dramatic and almost pathetic one. One is the more glad to know, twelve years later, that this venerable lover, still well-served, let us hope, by his score or more of sons, has been spared to enjoy, in the piping times of peace, the tranquil autumn of a somewhat boisterous middle age.

In the chapters which follow, after touching briefly on his daily life in Baghdad during a short period of service in the Revenue Secretariat—a sedentary post not much to his taste—he tells us of the alacrity with which he took advantage of the opportunity afforded him of returning to Shatrah, the headquarters of the Muntafik tribal federation on the Shatt-el-Hai, where he had previously established happy relations with the shaikhs and tribesmen of the district, and where he had found an additional attraction in the proximity of the site of the ancient Sumerian outpost of Lagash. This particular juncture, however, offered no prospect of archaeological research, for the political horizon was clouding rapidly and the tribes were reported busy arming themselves against an upheaval of which the warning tremors were already perceptible. But Captain Thomas's return had an anodyne effect, and thanks to the courage and skill with which he played his lone hand, and especially to his clever handling of the paramount Shaikh, the tribes of the Gharraf never actually committed themselves, and their District Officer, like Casabianca, was able to remain at his post until the last minute and leave with dignity when he reluctantly obeyed the summons to come away. It is a thrilling tale, and affords a fine example of the gallant way these practically isolated young Political Officers shouldered their heavy and anxious responsibilities at a most critical juncture, when they carried their lives in their hands from day to day and had little to fall back on but their own personality and the determination to keep their end up.

The scenes comprising the "Excursions"—the second half of the book—are laid in a very different quarter of Arabia, the Sultanate of Oman, where our author had meanwhile been installed as Wazier and Financial Adviser. In that satisfactory position of authority, at one time in company with the Sultan, at another by himself, he visited several districts between Muscat and Masandam, and crossed the Promontory from Sohar to Sharjah, hoping on that occasion to make the acquaintance of the still important centre and former Wahabi stronghold, Beraimi. This, however, was denied him owing to the disturbed state of inter-tribal politics at the time. Then there follows, under the title of "*War Drums in Musandam*," the account of a lively episode in which H.M. Survey Ship *Ormonde*, engaged in making

a revised marine survey of that treacherous bit of coast, had occasion to send a triangulation party to the summit of a well-known peak on the Promontory, situated in the habitat of the primitive Shihuh tribe, but owing to the truculent attitude of the local Shaikh and his following they were unable to carry out their work. Friendly remonstrance and the fact that the survey had the Sultan's authority proving of no avail, H.M. ship was obliged to abandon her intention for the moment and make shift with a less satisfactory triangulation point, but the stubborn obstruction and contumely of the Shaikh could not be allowed to pass unpunished, and the British Government agreed to lend support to the authority of the Sultan, represented on the spot by his Wazier, Mr. Thomas. Accordingly, a few days later, the Shaikh's tower having been demolished by shell fire after the customary warning to the villagers, the offender surrendered to H M ship and was deported to Muscat for a spell of durance vile.

The last section of the volume, perhaps of less interest to the general reader but the most important from the geographical point of view, treats of the southern hinterland of the Sultan of Muscat's territory, bordering the Indian Ocean. In pursuit of his latent ambition, adumbrated above, to invade the Empty Quarter, Mr Thomas was anxious, as a preliminary experiment, to touch its fringe, and, if possible, tap its secrets. His first essay to do this from a base at Khor Jeramah, near Sur, was unfortunately frustrated by the fortuitous occurrence of an unprovoked tribal murder into which Mr Thomas had to start an official investigation. On his second attempt, however, three months later and with six weeks' leave at his disposal, he found his lucky star more in the ascendant, and succeeded in carrying through an important journey of 600 miles from Suwaih, just south of Ras el Had, to Dhofar, the whole of it, after he left the Beni Bu Ali Shaikh's headquarters, being entirely new ground not traversed before by any European.

His sympathetic outlook on the life around him, the versatility of his mental equipment, and his tireless determination to investigate and to understand, make Mr Thomas an ideal traveller, and when we add to those valuable qualities the literary gift of an easy and attractive style, it goes without saying that the account which he has given us of his experiences makes delightful reading. And more than that: his pages not only furnish us with a vivid, and to my knowledge accurate, picture of the daily life of the tribes and communities among which his recent lot has been cast, with their customs and their culture, but attract our interest, incidentally, to problems of much more than local significance. Among such is the intriguing theory which he poses for us that the Shihuh tribesman of the Musandam Promontory may, not impossibly, be identical with the Shuhite of the Book of Job, the

region in question providing, as he says, "a remarkably close tribal setting" to the Old Testament story of the Patriarch and his three comforters.

Or again, the description which he gives us of the local conditions of domestic slavery which he encountered and which, I fear, have not materially changed in the last thirty years. While not, of course, attempting to justify the institution, he points out that "the domestic slavery of Arabia is not the slavery which makes the blood of the twentieth-century humanitarian run cold"; and I know from my own experience that in the region of which he writes, where the scanty rainfall not infrequently fails completely, it is often a choice of slavery or starvation, and it is by no means rare for famine-stricken individuals and even families to migrate to a more favoured district and sell themselves into bondage. We seem to have a rather parallel phenomenon in our own civilization where a starving individual will sometimes commit a crime with the express object of being sent to prison and getting at any rate a sufficiency of food and perhaps, if he is musical, an occasional concert!

But it is not possible to touch upon the many subjects of interest with which Mr. Thomas's fascinating pages are packed, and it is to be noted that he is always at pains to provide in footnotes lucid explanations of expressions or references which the general reader might not otherwise understand.

I regret to conclude this review on a note of criticism, but one cannot fail to remark the inadequacy of the exiguous maps figuring in pages 31 and 259 of the book. These are barely decipherable, even with a hand-magnifier, and must be quite useless to the reader not possessing a considerable preliminary knowledge of the geography of the region. This is a defect which, it is to be hoped, will be remedied should there be any reprint of the volume, and which, I feel sure, would never have arisen had not the author been out of communication when it was passing through the press.

P. Z. C.

History of Palestine. By Angelo Rappoport, Ph.D. Pp. 368. Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1931. 12s. 6d. net.

It is difficult to believe that in the vast library of books about Palestine there is no book which gives the complete history of the country from the beginning of civilization to the present day. Yet it is claimed that Dr. Rappoport's book is the first to embrace that subject. Whether or not he has predecessors, he has carried out his task remarkably well. He has summarized the results of archaeological research and the records of ancient and mediæval history with lucidity and vivacity, and produced a story of the most historical country of the world which is both scholarly and readable. There is no original research, but a discriminating use of existing material.

Palestine "has rightly been likened to a bridge, with the sea on one side and the desert on the other, connecting Asia with Africa. On account of its

geographical position it has been the scene of many invasions and contending armies during several millenniums. . . . Situated as it was between the great empires of the ancient world, the country was not only the highroad of commerce, but also the meeting place of civilization."

It is the story of this meeting and passing of civilization which Dr. Rapoport expounds, and in 350 pages he gives an account of the history of over 3,500 years. Occasionally a particular incident is narrated at length in a way which is out of proportion to the general scheme, as when one of the Tel el Amarna letters is given in full, or when the story of Deborah's victory over Sisera is set out in three pages. And occasionally the picture is slightly confused because of the double treatment of one incident. Thus, on p. 251 he speaks of Abdul Melik "erecting the magnificent stone mosque known as the Mosque of Omar," while a few pages later he writes more accurately that the Caliph built the famous Dome of the Rock, and then he gives a description of the building from an Arab author. The uninitiated reader would not grasp that the "Mosque of Omar" and the Dome are one and the same place.

Dr. Rapoport claims to have written the book in a spirit of profound impartiality. But he goes on to say: "It is our deliberate opinion that a national revival of the Jews in their ancestral home without the basis of religion has no *raison d'être*." The author may well be right in that opinion, but it is a point of view and should not have entered in the narrative of events.

In his final chapter, which deals with the mandatory regime of Palestine, 1917-1930, the author gives a fair, though inevitably brief, account of the development since the war. But one or two matters might be corrected in a later edition. Lord Allenby's campaign is made to appear as if it were the beginning of the operations in Palestine, and the proclamation of the Allied Powers to the Arab peoples about redemption and self-determination is wrongly dated 1917 instead of 1918. In the table of Principal Events, 1918 is given as the date of Palestine becoming a mandatory country, when it should be 1920, and Sir Herbert Samuel's period as High Commissioner is given as 1922-1925, while in fact it was 1920-1925. The conclusion with regard to the civilization of Palestine is interesting. "Palestine has never had a civilization of its own, nor could it ever have it. . . . All that one could expect in such a land was the development of a mixed civilization bearing traces of the various influences exercised by the world empires which held sway over the country for a time. . . . It is once more a foreign civilization which is being developed on the sacred soil of Palestine. . . . And yet, just as the exodus from Egypt was the prelude to Sinai, and the conquest of the Promised Land was a prelude to the Prophets and Christianity, so Zionism may prove to have been the prelude to a really Palestinian civilization."

N. B.

Asia's Teeming Millions, and its Problems for the West. By Étienne Dennerly, *Professeur de l'Institut des Hautes Études Internationales, Paris*. Translated from the French by John Peile, M.A., with a Foreword by Harold Cox. Pp. 248; photographic illustrations, 5 maps, and bibliography. Jonathan Cape. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

The title of this book, written by a French economist from personal experience of the countries concerned, sufficiently indicates its scope. Monsieur Dennerly devotes a section each to the peculiar economic problems of Japan, China, and India, and in a final chapter outlines some of the possible effects upon the world at large of Asia's apparently ever-increasing population.

Writing of Japan and the possibilities of limiting the increase in population

by artificial means, the author notes that "procreation is a religious and national duty." This statement, which can be applied equally to the other countries in question, typifies one of the great underlying ideas in Eastern religious thought. It cannot be too often emphasized that religion is a much more important factor in the secular life of Orientals than it is with the peoples of the West; and M. Denney is perfectly correct in thinking that any attempt to limit the size of families by such means would be foredoomed to failure.

Within the last fifty years the population of Japan has nearly doubled itself. Ricefield acreage, too, has been greatly extended, yet, owing to the improved standard of living, brought about to some extent by contact with the West, demand far exceeds production. It appears possible, however, to remedy this by the development of Hokkaido, an island which, although forming part of Japan proper, is at present almost uncultivated. But the problem is not wholly one of feeding an increasing population, as the author points out. "Will the troubles due to Japan's over population grow daily more serious, or is it only a crisis, doubtless dangerous, but only of a temporary character—a legacy of her sudden economic revolution, fifty years overdue, and which will diminish as that recedes into the realms of the past?"

"The possibility that it will increase to the danger of the whole state has much to support it," he writes, "but Western influence, whose adoption was the cause of the trouble, may, by becoming definitely prevalent, provide a cure. Western skill may develop the wealth of the Empire, increase, in the towns, the output of manual worker and machine, in the country, bring more fields under cultivation, and stock the hillsides with flocks and herds—men—in short, eliminate under-development as a cause of over-population."

Turning to China, we find that the problem assumes a somewhat different aspect. "Whilst the waves of Japanese masses are borne back upon themselves in their narrow islands, those of boundless China go swarming forth beyond seas and oceans. Scarcely more than 600,000 Japanese live outside their own Empire, whilst at least 8,000,000 Chinese live far from the Republic. All the lands in the Pacific and Indian Oceans still open to them are gradually becoming Chinese. If we want to know the countries to which the Chinese wends his way, we have only to ascertain those which are not yet closed to him."

It is significant also to note that in Japan the Government endeavours by means of subsidies and propaganda to encourage emigration, but the peasants will not leave their homes. From China, on the other hand, hundreds of thousands have emigrated to distant countries during the past few years without any assistance or help from the State. The political situation in China has of course been partly the cause of this. The Chinese emigrant today is an important factor, for, as the author points out, "it may be that the real wealth of China lies overseas."

"Perhaps, too, the China of tomorrow is also being created overseas. Freed from the utter lawlessness of China, living in countries that have escaped the horrors of civil wars, the Chinese is taking his first lessons in Western economic methods. He will bring not only gold back to his countrymen, but the means of acquiring it as well; his experience will be even more valuable to his compatriots than his fortune. The diversity of the trades to which he has turned his hand overseas will prove to have been a long lesson, during which he was ever acquiring new power and a science that has proved its value. Chinese emigration, indeed, is no longer a phase in the lives of the helpless—a flight to distant lands. It has become a deliberate effort to pass

beyond the barriers of old China, the venture of the energetic in new countries."

M. Dennerly commences his survey of Indian emigration with a pertinent truth. As he rightly notes, Indian thought ignores the economic side of the question, and the outcry in the vernacular Press is raised on the grounds of right—"Right to imperial, national, and racial equality." It must not be forgotten, however, that whatever be our attitude towards the settlement of Japanese and Chinese in our territories, we cannot apply the same standard to the peoples of India, who are, after all, subjects of our own Empire. This is not the place in which to discuss the rights and wrongs of the problems concerning Indian immigration in South and East Africa. There is, of course, much to be said on both sides, and M. Dennerly gives all the facts necessary for an impartial consideration of the question. It may be noted, however, that emigration of Indians to Africa has, in the past, been a not unimportant factor in relieving the economic congestion of Southern India, caused by the peculiar land system in that part of the continent.

In his final chapter the author writes: "Is there a real danger for Western nations and the future peace of the world in these hapless masses of Asia, cramped in the narrow confines of their tiny ricefields or on their little strips of land, swarming on the great highways or in city alleys, devastated in one place by famines, in others by robbery or wars, kept within their native lands by the bar of foreign countries?"

"Pent within the narrow limits of their homes, will these masses ever be able to break down the barriers that surround them and pour forth into other countries? Truth to tell, this yellow peril, as viewed by the people at large, is not an actual danger. Appalling visions of a sudden eruption of Asiatic peoples on to the white man's country have haunted the minds of the West since the days of Attila and Genghis Khan, but they seem today unlikely to be realized. Shiftings of whole populations are rare occurrences in history, and even then have not come from distant lands. Asia is now the chief refuge for the Asiatics."

But lest the problem should seem to be solved too easily he goes on to say that "The ideal of Asiatic brotherhood is slowly progressing. Thanks to lessons learnt from the West, a struggle against their teachers becomes a prospect more and more likely to be realized. Perhaps anarchy in Asia will not always insure Europe and America against the hatreds which they have aroused. What force then will be able to restrain the masses of the East and prevent them from seeking outside their own Continent the resources which they must possess if they are to live?"

This is a book of absorbing interest and of great importance to all who are interested—and who is not!—in the political and economic problems of Asia. It is unusually restrained and free from bias, and is, above all, eminently readable. The book is well documented, and the five maps on which various economic data are set forth are most useful. The translation has been excellently done.

C. J. MORRIS.

Indian Industry. By M. Cecile Matheson. Part 3. Pp. xiv + 227. 7½" x 5". Milford. 8s.

This useful little book is the result of a decision of the National Christian Council of India to make a survey of industrial conditions in India. The Council was fortunate enough to obtain the services of Miss Matheson, a lady of great experience in industrial investigation and in welfare work in Great Britain. She was assisted during her two cold weather visits by one of the

best known of Indian Y.W.C.A. workers, Miss Wingate, and by an Indian male welfare worker. The result is a valuable report, free from prejudice and full of insight, without that dogmatism which is often found in books about India, generally in inverse ratio to the length of the author's visit to that country. Except for a vivid and charming account of Miss Matheson's visits to tea gardens, it cannot be denied that the book makes somewhat depressing reading. In no other country is the saying "*Homo homini lupus*" more true than it is in India, and in no department of Indian life is it so applicable as it is in industrial life. Bribery and corruption are everywhere prevalent. The author suggests the poor consolation that the Indian labourer arrives poor in the great cities, and expects oppression, and on the whole perhaps gets less of it than he does in his village home. This may well be doubted; the perquisites and extortions of the village tyrants are stabilized, while in industrial life everything is uncertain and variable. As the author indicates, corruption extends even to the province of medical relief. Nor are the workers themselves free from blame. The non-success of co-operative societies among industrial workers is due chiefly to the dishonesty of the workers themselves, and to their failure to act squarely by the societies. The inefficiency of the worker is such that the author calculates that from three to five Indians are required to do the work of one Englishman in the cotton and iron industries; but it is largely due to slacking and a system of "ca' canny." The author is perhaps a greater believer in the advantages which have arisen out of Trade Unionism in Great Britain than many of her readers will be, but her remarks on the future of Trade Unionism in India are lukewarm and doubtful. Hanging over all Indian workers is the burden of indebtedness which is at least as bad in factories as it is in many agricultural villages. The author perhaps has too much confidence in Trade Board legislation from its results in England. In India there is always the danger of a corrupt inferior bureaucracy. The author stresses the necessity for more welfare work as a means of uplifting Indian industrial workers from their present sordid surroundings. She admits that her account of possible training reads as if it were proposed to hand over welfare work in India entirely to the management of Europeans. The National Christian Council, very naturally from its own point of view, hopes to carry out the work by Christian agency. Herein lies one of the great difficulties. When Mr. Gandhi is warning Christian missionaries against interference, and when every effort of Europeans is liable to be suspected and distorted, what is the likelihood of the Christian Churches in India, with financial resources and numbers of workers very limited, being able to effect the desired regeneration of industrial conditions? The intention is, however, excellent, and this little survey of the condition of Indian factory hands will be of use to all interested in welfare work.

India on the Brink. By "A British-India Merchant." 7½ x 5. Pp. xviii + 122. London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 3s.

The publishers claim that "the object of this book is to arouse the British public, before it is too late, to realize that Great Britain is coming face to face with the greatest crisis in its history, and that on the right solution of this problem of supreme gravity depends the fate of the Empire."

The author, in his preface, lays stress on the fact that we have arrived at a parting of the ways, that we must make the definite decision to go either by the right-hand path or the left.

"Let there be no misunderstanding; if the problem be solved rightly, a progressive, prosperous and contented India will attain in due course full

partnership in the British Empire but if the wrong solution be attempted, India will revert to a land of chaos, the decline of the Empire will have definitely commenced, and ere long 'Ichabod' will be its epitaph" (p. 7).

He comments on the apparent apathy of the British public as a whole, giving the reason that "the majority of the British people have but the haziest knowledge of India—its peoples, its history, and even its geography. They take India for granted as part of the British Empire, but little do they realize how important and vital a part." He lays stress on this point, remarking that "though the proceedings at the Round Table Conference aroused a passing interest, there is little indication that the supreme gravity of the issue has been grasped by the great majority of those in this country *with whom as voters the final decision yet may rest*" (reviewer's italics).

In endeavouring to decide on what is the right path to follow, the author considers it "necessary to visualize in perspective something of India's past history—its present state and, as far as possible, its future course." He states that he has dwelt at greater length than otherwise he would have done on periods of disturbance that have occurred during the British regime in India when they tend to show that the unrest of today is history repeating itself and that in the past, as in the present, the seed of that poisonous plant—false rumour—was sown by a comparative handful of irreconcilable extremists on the fertile soil of a people 80 per cent. of whom can neither read nor write, and was nurtured by a revolutionary Press which for years has abused its freedom from restraint in a manner which no other country would have tolerated. He adds that in the past these periods of unrest have yielded to *firm though just and sympathetic treatment* (reviewer's italics) if like treatment be applied at the present time, India should be cured ere long of her present malady.

Throughout twenty-one short chapters the author examines the factors affecting the situation, quoting extensively from authorities such as the Indian Statutory Commission's Report, the Montagu Chelmsford Report, Sir Rampfylde Fuller, The Oxford History of India, and the writings of the Abbe Dubois.

He lays considerable stress on the evils engendered by the subversive reports of the Indian National Congress Bulletin, and the baseless allegations by certain Americans, giving numerous quotations from such writings in illustration of his argument.

In the twenty-second chapter the author sums up the situation, and attempts to find a solution to the problem.

"Recent events (he writes) have proved that the extreme forbearance displayed by the Government of India, when revolutionary resolutions were passed by the Indian National Congress at Lahore on December 31, 1929, was mistaken. A spark that then might have been promptly extinguished was allowed to smoulder until fanned into a flame by gusts of popular passion."

He quotes Sir Rampfylde Fuller "Our influence in India rests not so much upon our strength as upon prevailing ideas of our strength, and if anything occurs to weaken these ideas, the people prepare themselves for a change of rulers. . . . The traditions of a thousand years are not easily forgotten—during this period no dynasty has maintained itself much beyond the limit of a couple of centuries. . . ."

"For this reason a policy of concession, of compromise, is exceedingly dangerous. *We must do justice*, but because it is justice and *not* because we are afraid of the consequences.

"*The idea of give and take* which influences so materially the course of

English politics is *foreign to Indian notions of government*. It does not conciliate our opponents, it merely strengthens their hold upon the imagination of the people."

The author remarks that the "resolutions passed by the Congress at Lahore on December 31, 1929, expressed threats which Government at the time ignored. Three months later these threats were translated into action; Government by its altruistically tolerant attitude was running a grave risk."

On page 113 he lays down a suggested declaration, such as might be made by the British Government to define the policy of Great Britain, and "to state in unmistakable language its final limits of concession; specifically stating the conditions under which these limits can be reached."

The closing paragraphs, possibly, give a clue to his solution of the problem: "There *never* must be capitulation to the apostles of lawlessness; such a course inevitably would at one stroke destroy the noble structure raised by the genius, the patient effort, and the infinite courage of Britain's most illustrious Empire Builders—would relegate 60,000,000 of 'Untouchables' to a state of slavery, and would thrust back into anarchy this great sub-continent."

"The *keys* entrusted to us are still in our possession, and we must see to it that they are safe in our keeping."

"Our one and only course is to strive continuously to bring into harmony the clashing interests of 'a hundred Indias,' so that each, assured of equal justice and protection, will march forward with us in loyal co-operation, and thus hasten the day when, as an equal partner, a contented, powerful and united All-India Federation will form one of the great pillars of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

If there is any criticism to be made on this book, it might be that the author has omitted to give chapter and verse of his quotations from various authorities, and contents himself with stating only the name of the work from which he has drawn his extracts. This is especially noticeable in his quotations from the Indian Statutory Commission's Report, from which he borrows extensively. The facts are laid out clearly and succinctly, and his summing-up is logical and well expressed.

The truth of his arguments cannot be denied.

With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet. By Alexandra David-Neel.

Pp. 320. Photographic illustrations. John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, 1931. 15s. net.

The author of this book, a French lady, first became interested in Tibet when, as a young student, she studied Sanskrit and Tibetan literature under Edouard Foucaux at the Collège de France. As a result of some preliminary journeys culminating in a visit to Lhasa, which she has described in a previous book, "My Journey to Lhasa," she conceived the desire to investigate matters concerned with Tibetan mysticism and psychic phenomena, and the present book has been written as a result of no less than fourteen years' residence in the country.

Nearly half the book is devoted to a description of wanderings in Sikkim and along the adjacent Tibetan border; journeys of no special interest in country perfectly well known. In describing Tibetan

lamaseries Mme. David-Neel is liable to give those who have not visited the country a somewhat wrong impression, for she constantly writes of them as Colleges and Universities, and of certain types of lamas as "a kind of LL.D. and Ph.D." This, of course, is utterly absurd, but to the uninitiated is liable to conjure up pictures akin to those of stately processions entering Sheldonian or Senate House. Much of this early part of the book is marred by frequent misstatements. The author notes, for instance, that the Jonsong Pass is the highest in the world, and that its height is 24,000 feet—no less than 1,000 feet higher than the North Col of Mount Everest. In actual fact the height of this Pass is 20,300 feet above sea level. Again, when writing of the Tibetan language she states that one Dawasandup, a schoolmaster in Sikkim who was her interpreter for a time, is the author of the only English-Tibetan dictionary in existence. This is hardly fair to Sir Charles Bell, whose grammars and dictionary are the student's chief aids to learning the language. In addition to these, however, Sarat Candra Das published a very complete dictionary in 1902, and there is a work in French by the Catholic missionaries in Tibet, which was published in Hong-kong in 1899.

The remaining chapters are devoted to a study of mysticism and spiritual training as practised by lamas in Tibet, and of these the most convincing is that dealing with what the author describes as "Psychic Sports". One set of these, known to the Tibetans as *Lung-gom*, "includes a large number of practices which combine mental concentration with various breathing gymnastics, and aims at different results either spiritual or physical", but there is an underlying desire in all *Lung-gom* exercises to acquire uncommon nimbleness and the power to make long journeys with amazing rapidity. The author's introduction to the practice came at an unexpected moment. She noticed a man advancing towards her over the Tibetan plain at a somewhat unusual pace, and upon calling the attention of one of her servants she received the reply, "It looks like a lama *lung-gom-pa*." "The man," she writes, "continued to advance towards us, and his curious speed became more and more evident." She wished to speak to the lama and to observe him at close quarters, but her servants warned her to let him pass unnoticed. "By that time," she continues, "he had nearly reached us; I could clearly see his perfectly calm impassive face and wide-open eyes with their gaze fixed on some invisible far-distant object situated somewhere high up in space. The man did not run. He seemed to lift himself from the ground, proceeding by leaps. It looked as if he had been endowed with the elasticity of a ball and rebounded each time his feet touched the ground. . . . My servants dismounted and bowed their heads to the ground as the lama passed before us, but he went his way apparently unaware of our presence."

Another most interesting practice is that known as *tumo*, or the art of warming oneself without fire, even when sitting naked in the snow. The word *tumo* signifies heat, but is not used in Tibetan to express ordinary heat or warmth, having some further esoteric meaning. "It is a technical term of mystic terminology, and the effects of that mysterious heat are not confined to warming the anchorites who can produce it. Tibetan adepts of the secret lore distinguish various kinds of *tumo*: exoteric *tumo*, which arises spontaneously in the course of peculiar raptures and gradually folds the mystic in the 'soft, warm mantle of the gods'; esoteric *tumo*, that keeps the hermits comfortable on the snowy hills; mystic *tumo*, which can only claim a distant and quite figurative connection with the term 'warmth,' for it is the experience of 'paradisiac bliss' in this world."

Mme. Neel gives details of the various stages through which the ascetic must pass before he can attain the full force of *tumo*, and it appears that the practice is based on the theory that if the mind can be brought under absolute control the mere thought of *tumo* is sufficient to banish all physical discomfort connected with cold, and the body gradually becomes suffused with radiant heat. This is said to produce a peculiar kind of ecstasy which can be experienced in no other way. The author states that members of the Mount Everest Expeditions had occasional glimpses of one of these naked anchorites, but the present writer is able to state from his own experience that this is definitely not the case.

Full descriptions follow of the lives led by anchorites in *ritö*(s) or hermitages, but it is difficult to understand the mentality of a man who can spend his life meditating in complete darkness, without receiving any visitors or speaking to anyone.

In her final chapter Mme. David-Neel describes her investigations into psychic phenomena and, to be quite frank, many of the details given seem hardly credible. She was anxious to study the question of *tulpas*, "magic formations generated by a powerful concentration of thought." "Must we credit these strange accounts of rebellious 'materializations,'" she asks, "phantoms which have become real beings, or must we reject them all as mere fantastic tales and wild products of imagination?" She contents herself with describing a personal experience, but it is extremely doubtful if any useful scientific purpose is served by accounts of this sort. "In order to avoid being influenced by the forms of the lamaist deities, which I saw daily around me in paintings and images," she writes, "I chose for my experiment a most insignificant character: a monk, short and fat, of an innocent and jolly type.

"I shut myself in *tsams* and proceeded to perform the prescribed concentration of thought and other rites. After a few months the phantom monk was formed. His form grew gradually fixed and life-like looking. He became a kind of guest, living in my apartment.

I then broke my seclusion and started for a tour, with my servants and tents.

"The monk included himself in the party. Though I lived in the open, riding on horseback for miles each day, the illusion persisted. I saw the fat *trapa*; now and then it was not necessary for me to think of him to make him appear. The phantom performed various actions of the kind that are natural to travellers and that had not been commanded. For instance, he walked, stopped, and looked around him. The illusion was mostly visual, but sometimes I felt as if a robe was lightly rubbing against me, and once a hand seemed to touch my shoulder.

"The features which I had imagined, when building my phantom, gradually underwent a change. The fat, chubby cheeked fellow grew leaner; his face assumed a vaguely mocking, sly, malignant look. He became more troublesome and bold. In brief, he escaped my control.

"Once a herdsman who brought me a present of butter saw the *tulpa* in my tent and took it for a live lama. . . . I decided to dissolve the phantom. I succeeded, but only after six months of hard struggle. My *mind-creature* was tenacious of life."

The italics are mine, and it is only necessary to add that if the writer of the above quoted paragraphs can really believe that it is possible to see the creation of some other person's mind in the form of living flesh and blood, then we have no other course but to accept all her statements with extreme caution.

It is not easy to review fairly a book like this, for when an author spends no less than fourteen consecutive years in patient investigation in a country like Tibet, where even the best possible conditions entail considerable hardship and discomfort, one cannot doubt her sincerity. Mme. David-Neel professes herself a disciple of Descartes and of Claude Bernard, but she cannot be said to have practised to the full the philosophic scepticism of the former, which, according to the latter, should be the constant ally of the scientific observer. She has attempted that all but impossible task—to interest both the expert and the general reader. She does not succeed in either, for the first will find much of the writing in this book involved, and the latter will be irritated by the numerous misstatements. It is much to be regretted that she did not add to what was obviously a long and detailed linguistic and philosophic training some study in practical anthropology, for her opportunities for investigation were probably unique and unlikely to recur. As it is, she does not distinguish between what she observes, what she is told by others, and what she believes, but with all its faults this remains an extremely interesting book, and one that should not be neglected either by the student of mysticism or of Tibetan ethnology. Mme. David-Neel states that she hopes to publish a further

work on these subjects, and it is to be hoped that she will write primarily for the reader with some scientific training, for it is not really possible to please the two classes of reader. The book has neither index nor maps; the former would be useful, and the latter indispensable to anyone not acquainted with the geography of Tibet.

C. J. MORRIS.

The Road to the Grey Pamir. By Annie Louise Strong. Pp. 269. With illustrations. Little, Brown and Company. 1931.

Grey indeed the Pamirs seem in this narrative of a woman's journey alone, from Osh, the capital of Southern Kirghizia, formerly Ferghana, to Pamirski Post, the Russian military frontier station, with scorching heat and freezing cold, runaway horses, filthy Yurts, and Kirghiz, undergoing the initial stage of being civilized by various Soviet Committees delegated to the High Pastures, completing the picture.

As might be imagined, the account is not lacking in adventure, but the chief interest lies in the glimpse one gains of the actual conditions of life in the carefully guarded frontier region of Russian Central Asia. The author, who is American, has made a special study of the economic situation in the Soviet republics. In her book "*Red Star in Samarkand*" (see the review in the *JOURNAL OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY*, Vol. XVII.) she has already published the result of her investigations in the ancient cities of the new republics. She now turns her attention to the changes developing through Bolshevik methods of propaganda and organization among the nomad population on the "Roof of the World."

It is indeed amazing, as the writer herself remarks, to think of all these efforts at modernization going on within such a short distance of the boundary, where on the Chinese side one suddenly comes to medieval Sin Kiang and the secluded valleys of untouched solitudes, where the Kirghiz still live according to ancient custom and receive the stranger in their midst with the frank friendliness unknown on the beaten tracks.

The writer describes some quaint scenes in Sary-tash, a Soviet of the High Pastures, where she stopped for a few days on her way to Pamirski Post. In the summer encampment of shabby Yurts she found installed a People's Court, a School for Illiterates, a Women's Organizer, a Medical Station and a State Trading Company. In the People's Court she listened to a case being tried of an under-age marriage, combined with the payment of a "kalym" or bride-purchase, this being now forbidden, the proceedings of which she describes with some humour.

The Women's Organizer for the valley confided to her that she was finding her job of agitating among the Kirghiz sisterhood of the south uphill work, as the frightened creatures ran away whenever they saw her coming along. To her disgust not a single girl could be persuaded to go to the schools.

The doctor and the trader were more popular, crowds coming chiefly for vaccination—little sickness of any other kind being found in the valley—and eagerly acquiring the iron pots and cotton goods which for propaganda's sake were being sold cheaper than in the bazaar in Osh.

During the first part of the journey Miss Strong was able to join a group of members of a geological expedition, starting out on behalf of the Supreme Council of National Economy to investigate the possibilities of exploiting certain deposits of gold and other precious minerals, which had recently been discovered. During the second half of the way, she accompanied a detachment

of Red soldiers. She had no servant with her, nor any other escort, but travelled riding her own pony and carrying her own belongings. The hardships of the road were augmented by the suffering caused by injuries resulting from a fall from her horse. The description of Murghabi, as the frontier station is locally called, shows it to be still one of the dreariest spots in the world.

Giving up her plan of going on to Horog, the writer retraced her steps to Ferghana, this time in the company of a Kirghiz communist and a caravan-man from Kashgar. Both proved to be unreliable travelling companions, the latter even trying to get away with her pony. Near Nary-tash she fortunately fell in with a group of students from the Economic Institute of the Central Asian University, with whom she returned to Osh.

The account of the writer's various adventures and experiences is full of interest. It incidentally shows with what determination a woman can face hardships. The statement concerning the discomfort caused by the high altitude and the soldiers' comment that "to go to the Pamirs on foot—that indeed was very bad for a man," brings to my mind the memory of another woman, a Roumanian, whom I met in the early season of 1930—the first caravan had just come over from Ladakh—crossing the Karakoram Pass on foot with her husband, between them carrying their own packs of food and bedding across the most desolate, uninhabited, highest tracts of country in the world. What would the Red soldiers have said?

There are several illustrations in the book, showing the writer's various travelling companions. J. V. H.

Through the Caucasus to the Volga. By Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. Translated from the Norwegian by G. C. Wheeler. 8½" x 5½". Pp 255. Illustrations. George Allen and Unwin. 12s 6d.

This is Dr. Nansen's last book, although perhaps not so pretentious as others from his pen—in the Preface he says "It is not possible in a short sketch such as this to give in any way complete impressions of the lands and the many peoples the journey took us through, especially when it was made so quickly" it, nevertheless, lacks nothing in respect of the brilliance of its descriptions and the interest of its matter. The great secret of Dr. Nansen's writing is that he combines the interest of the scientist with that of the ordinary man. In the work under review there is much to interest the geologist, the anthropologist and the historian; on the other hand, the ordinary reader is thrilled by the descriptions of the imposing Caucasian scenery and of the romantic tribes which dwell in that little known part of the world.

In reading the book one is conscious of a feeling of loss, that never again can we look forward to having our imaginations stirred by his vivid descriptions of his travels. One is also struck by the many sided character of the man. He was brave, as his achievements as an explorer show; he was no mean scientist, he was a good diplomat and an able negotiator, as is proved by the successful manner in which he carried out the various delicate missions entrusted to him by the League of Nations. His relief work in Russia during the famine period of 1921-22 proves him to have been a great organizer, and, finally, he was intensely human—in fact, his descriptive writings reveal the eye of an artist.

In July, 1925, Dr. Nansen visited Armenia at the head of an international commission, appointed by the League of Nations, to enquire how it would be possible to settle the Armenian refugees who had fled from Turkish Armenia.

in order to escape from the atrocities of Turkish rule. Having completed his enquiries, he proceeded to Tiflis in order to discuss with the Government of the Federation of Caucasian Soviet Socialist Republics matters in connection with the raising of a loan for the purpose of settling the refugees on the land in Soviet Armenia. The loan, however, did not materialize because the authorities in Tiflis, owing to a mixture of ignorance and conceit, failed to grasp the fact that foreign bankers would not consider the guarantee of the Central Government in Moscow as sufficient security for the loan. His official mission thus coming to an end, he decided to see something of the Caucasus and Russia on his way back to Norway.

The first chapter is devoted to a description of Tiflis and of the exuberant hospitality of the author's host, the Armenian, Narriman Ter Kasarian, representative of the Trans-Caucasian Federation, who had accompanied the Commission during its investigations in Armenia. Not only is Tiflis celebrated for its natural beauty, but for that of its women. A Frenchman writing over 250 years ago said: "To see them and not to love them I hold to be impossible." Dr. Nansen's imagination is stirred by the romantic past of the Georgian people, and by the many wars they waged for their independence. He mentions their national heroes and heroines, among them King Heraklius II., who, although over eighty years old, recaptured Tiflis from the Persians in 1795; and Queen Tamara, who brought Christianity to the savage mountain tribes, and whose praises are still sung by the Georgian people:

. . . and the mountains bowed before her,
Tamar came to Svan-land wearing her crown.

Tamar's eyes were like precious stones.
Over her silk kirtle she wore a coat of mail.
Tamar had a belt of gold;
Tamar wore her royal sword at her side.

The epic poetry of old Georgia is really beautiful; it sings of the sufferings of this wonderful land, but through it runs a note of hope and confidence in a glorious and independent future. Here are two further specimens quoted by Dr. Nansen:

Thou art not dead, home of my fathers,
thou dost but sleep, awaiting the morrow;
then shalt thou deck them with the victor's wreath
who for thy sake have kept their watch among the dead.
(From the Georgian poet Akaki Zereteli.)

And once again the old wound throbs,
O land of mine that once was so richly gifted,
it is to me as if thy past lay buried
in this stream whose weeping strikes my ear.

It seems that destiny has condemned the Georgian people to suffer eternally. After a bitter struggle for their independence against the Russian Cæars, they have now fallen under the even worse tyranny of the Soviets. It is to be hoped that one of the features of the new régime in Russia, which rises out of the ashes of Bolshevism, will be the independence, or at least self-government, of Georgia.

In Chapter II. there follows an excellent description of the mighty Caucasus range, reaching from the Caspian to the Black Sea, 1,100 kilometres long, with an average breadth of 120 kilometres. The highest peak is Djin Padiabak (King of the Spirits), 5,629 metres high. There is a local legend that the great bird Simurg has its nest on the top of Djin Padiabak, and has one

eye on the past and the other on the future. When it rises in the air the ground shakes from the beating of its wings, the storms howl, the sea grows rough, and all the sleeping powers of the deep wake to life.

From the River Ilion, the Phasis of the Greeks, which rises in the Caucasus, Jason fetched the Golden Fleece and the Sun King's daughter. The author gives an interesting quotation from Shabo, who long ago remarked "the streams (in the Caucasus) were rich in gold which is washed out by the Barbarians by means of hides and skins with the hair on, and in this way has arisen the tale of the Golden Fleece."

Dr. Nansen had formerly made the acquaintance of Samursky, President of the Daghestan Republic, and whilst still in Tiflis he received a pressing invitation from the latter to visit Daghestan on his way home. He accordingly set out from Tiflis at 4 a.m. on July 6, 1925, by motor-car along the great military road through the Caucasus which was completed by the Russians in 1901.

Chapter III. is devoted to a description of the two principal mountain tribes living in the districts through which the road passed— the Khevsurs and the Ossetes. The former are medieval in their ways— the author tells us "they wear helmets, chain armour, bambraces and greaves of steel, shields and swords, just like the Knights of the Crusade." Murder must be avenged by the murdered man's kindred, or can be atoned by an agreed fine in cattle. For murdering a man the fine is eighty cows, for a woman sixty cows, whereas for wife murder the question of blood revenge does not arise and the fine is only five cows. This system of getting rid of a wife might well be substituted for the complicated and expensive system of divorce at present existing in England, and, furthermore, it would have the advantage of stimulating our depressed agricultural industry. Their method of taking a wife, so the author tells us, is almost as curious as that of getting rid of her. The bridegroom takes his wife from a neighbouring village by armed force to his father's house. Here they spend three nights together, after which she goes back to her village for a time before regular married life begins. If after the three days' trial the bride does not please her husband, he can send her back to her village, and she is free to marry another.

In Chapter IV. the author continues his journey along the White Aravay River to the station at Kasbek, where he obtained his first glimpse of the mighty peak of that name, 5,043 metres high. According to legend, it was here that Zeus chained Prometheus for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to mankind. The first man to climb the peak was an Englishman called Freshfield, who, together with some companions, reached the top in 1868.

From the station of Kasbek the author followed the Terek River as far as the Darial Gap, on the other side of which lies the plain leading to Vladikavkaz (the ruler of the Caucasus). Here he took leave of Narriman Ter Kasarian, who had accompanied him on all his travels since he landed at Batoum three weeks previously. From Vladikavkaz he proceeded by train, which included a sleeping-car, to Petrovsk, rechristened "Makhach Kala" by the Bolsheviks, arriving there at 2 a.m. on Tuesday, July 7, 1925.

Chapter V. is taken up by a description of Daghestan and its people. The total area of Daghestan is about 54,000 square kilometres, with a population (in 1926) of 788,000 souls of twelve different races, speaking thirty-two different languages. The religion is Islam, which the Soviets do not dare persecute in the Caucasus as they do Christianity in Russia. Economic conditions in Daghestan are very bad; little or nothing was done by the

Imperial Government to open up the country, nor have the Soviets improved matters.

In Makhach Kala Dr. Nansen was the guest of Comrade Samuraky, President of the Daghestan Republic. He spent the greater part of his time visiting the town museum, which was full of relics of ShamyI and his ally Hadji Murad, who for twenty-five years led their people in a relentless war against the Russians. Their activities are described in Chapters VI. and VII.

Dr. Nansen leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers that his sympathies were all on the side of ShamyI. The following is a typical commentary on the history of those times: "But what shall one say of the Russian Czar and his people, who by no right whatever forced their way into their valleys, killed them right and left, plundered their villages and seized their whole land?" In 1801 the Czar had assumed the Crown of Georgia, and by 1820 General Yermolov, who had been appointed to the command of the Russian forces in the Caucasus, was able to report that the conquest of Daghestan was almost complete as well. In fact, as the author tells us, "there only remained an inner western strip of Daghestan . . . it was still to cost thirty-nine years' bitter fighting with streams of blood before Daghestan should be overcome." Yermolov's harsh treatment of the Caucasian Mohammedans gave rise to a fanatical anti-Russian religious movement which brought the tribes together in a united resistance.

For six years Kasi Mullah and his lieutenant ShamyI Mullah carried on guerilla warfare against the Russians with varying success, since the latter had guns in which the former were entirely deficient. In October, 1832, Kasi Mullah made a last stand in his native village of Gimri, where he and all his followers were killed except ShamyI, who, despite the fact that he had a broken shoulder and rib and a bayonet wound through his lung, managed to make good his escape. In death the body of Kasi Mullah took up the attitude of a Moslem at prayer, with his left hand about his beard and his right hand lifted towards the sky. This, together with the miraculous escape of ShamyI, was interpreted by their followers as a divine omen of their saintliness. In 1834 ShamyI became leader of the Murids. Muridism preached the absolute equality of mankind, and that, according to the Koran, no people could be subject to another. It further preached a reconciliation between the two great sects of Islam, the Shiites and the Sunnites.

The author tells us that "ShamyI was one of the most remarkable figures of the century." Physically good-looking and athletic, he had the dramatic sense necessary to lead these primitive and superstitious peoples. At the same time he was bitterly cruel. He had his own mother beaten in public because she pleaded for mercy on behalf of his enemies. As an autocrat he led the Murid movement against the Russians for twenty-two years, during which time the honours of war were very fairly divided. In September, 1856, ShamyI finally surrendered to the Russian General Prince Bariatinsky. He was presented to the Czar, who received him with great honour, and he was given a pension and a house at Kaluga. He died in 1871.

The history of the Murid movement might have been quite different had the Turks not displayed a political stupidity beyond anything which might even be expected of them. During the Crimean War they might have caused enormous embarrassment to the Russians had they made common cause with the Murids. On the contrary, they opposed the cause of Muridism because they themselves wished to be masters of the Caucasus. One wonders what their British Allies were doing to allow such a golden opportunity to be lost.

The subsequent history of Daghestan—after the period of Czarist rule—is

extremely complicated. Such famous persons as General Bicherakov, Nouri Pasha (brother of Enver Pasha), General Dunsterville and the Iman Gochinsky all took a hand in shaping it. Finally a so-called autonomous Soviet Republic was set up in 1920.

Chapter VIII. is entitled "Excursions in Daghestan." It contains descriptions of such miscellaneous subjects as a cotton-mill, a canned-fruit factory, a swarm of locusts (with a discussion as to how to deal with it), an oil field, the herring fishing industry, agriculture as applied to large estates confiscated by the Bolsheviks, a glass making factory, and a local wedding at which the Caucasian dance the "Lesghinka" was danced, now rendered famous in every cabaret in Europe.

At the end of the chapter Dr. Nansen discusses the economic future of Daghestan. His enthusiastic idealism carries him away from the world of realities. He sees the paradise which a strenuous people might make of a land richly endowed by nature, but he forgets the hell which Soviet tyranny and mismanagement have created in its place. He talks of the wonderful openings for European capital, whereas the latter demands security as a primary condition, the very thing which is lacking under the Soviet regime.

Chapter IX. opens with a description of Dr. Nansen's trip across the Caspian from Petrovsk to Astrakhan. He comments on the shallowness of the water and the large number of barges containing dried "vobla," or salt-water roach, caught in the Caspian, which is the staple food of the peasants living round the Volga delta. The latter provides wonderful duck shooting, but is very malarial.

"In the last centuries of our era there existed the town of Itil, founded by the Khazars, to which came the traders from Byzantium, Baghdad, Armenia and Persia. After the Jews were turned out of Constantinople, they settled in Itil and developed the trade of the Khazars, whose dynasty embraced the Jewish faith." Itil became Astrakhan, which appears to have had a romantic past, although to the ordinary person its name merely conjures up visions of an expensive fur coat and that delicious brand of caviare, with the big grey grains, which is the best in the world. Dr. Nansen describes the different kinds of sturgeon and the caviare they produce, the "gourmet" will be much interested to know all about this great delicacy.

The beginning of Chapter X. is also "baby." The scientific description of the various kinds of Volga fish is most interesting without being too technical.

On the evening of July 13, Dr. Nansen left Astrakhan and started his journey up the Volga, the greatest waterway in Europe, which, with its tributaries, waters an area greater than Germany, France and Great Britain put together. Before the war this area was Europe's granary. The rest of the chapter is taken up with a brief history of the Volga peoples and a description of the country through which the mighty river flows. The chapter ends with a short but moving description of the great famine of 1921-22 in which three million people perished. The author is too modest to mention the great part which he played in relieving the distress.

As stated at the beginning of this review, Dr. Nansen's book is a description of his travels only. It is obvious that in a book with a limited scope he could not deal with the political and economic problems with which the places he visited were seething. We, who are interested, get so little real truth about Russia that the opinion of an observer, such as Dr. Nansen, as to the conditions and future prospects in that unhappy land would have been invaluable. He received the utmost hospitality from his Bolshevik hosts, he saw everything from the most advantageous angle, and he duly admired.

Perhaps his true feelings are summed up on the last page of the book. After describing the past vicissitudes and sufferings of the Volga people—from which, by the way, he excludes their present sufferings under the Soviet régime—he says: "But in this tough, patient people's depths there still lie capabilities and forces as yet unused. In their wonderful music one feels as though from the echo of past sufferings, of great melancholy of the steppes, hope rises up for a day that is to dawn." EDWARD WALKER.

Unveiled: The Autobiography of a Turkish Woman. By Selma Ekrem. 8½" x 5½". Pp. 277. Illustrations. London: Bles. 1938.

An autobiography of the author, the daughter of a distinguished Secretary of Abdul Hamid, the Sultan who was deposed by the Young Turks during the "Bloodless Revolution" in Turkey. Selma Ekrem was an attractive child. The book reveals her in her setting—the old Turkish home on the hill above the Bosphorus, still living in Moslem semi seclusion.

Yet, through the father's high position as Governor of Jerusalem, Selma's travels began in her earliest years.

In her chapters of succeeding events—the Great War, the Gallipoli adventure, the rise of Mustapha Kemal, his heroic struggle against the Greeks in the Smyrna war and his still more heroic venture at Angora to establish a Turkish modern government, one follows the growth of a small girl's transformation into a fiery young patriot.

If one misses in it all the deeper insight of a Halidé Edib with her analysis of Mustapha Kemal's development from the heroic idolized Ghazi into the nascent statesman who had not despised the counsels of a woman in his creation of a new state—yet we see a reflection of a youthful happy child in a patriarchal home, loved and petted by all. This was the Turkish home of the harem and the selamlık. But its restrictions for women did not fall as a shadow upon Selma's happy-hearted childhood until her sister was "hooded" under the shroud of the black "teharchaf." Terror and revolt are the underlying keynotes of Selma's further chapters on this subject of terror. No small rôle played in this was her distaste for Arabic lessons from the Hodja in learning the Koran. For those observers who have never grasped the full meaning of Mustapha Kemal's edicts against the fez and the teharchaf these chapters will prove of interest.

That emancipation can lie in a *hut* Selma's experiences prove. The growing dread of angry Moslem comment at her little girls' hats in the public streets put fear into the mother's heart; and youthful Beraet was put under the black teharchaf. Poor little Selma! How indignant! "Do you want your daughter to go to Hell?" is the Hodja's infuriated argument with the mother. The fear of womanhood under Islamic custom and law prepared the young rebel for the coming emancipation of women under the Ghazi's régime. Those of us who have seen these changes, and lived through them, can realize the courage of Mustapha Kemal.

"Within Old Family Walls" is a chapter reminiscent of the Turkey of Abdul Hamid without those walls; but of a patriarchal kindly life of various generations living within under one roof and one headship. Selma recounts the sacrifice of the grandfather's mother in sending her two boys away to France to be educated at St. Cyr. "Le Beau Djelal," as the gay St. Cyrien was known, became Aide-de-Camp under Sultan Assiz, and then General in the army of Abdul Hamid. Exile alternated with court splendour, and then—retirement to the great house perched on the hill over the Bosphorus, of which these pages tell so much.

The Great War, the defeat of Turkey, the Army of Occupation pass before us. While Governor of Mitylene, at that time, the island fell under Greek rule, and Ekrem Bey became a prisoner of war. The family fortunes were, however, retrieved by Venizelos' freeing the civil officials. A Russian boat brought them safely through mined waters back to Stamboul.

These appointments to Governorships appear to be one of the "perquisites" falling to discharged Secretaries of Abdul Hamid. The rather tragic danger contained in the tale of the "crumpled" letter—so incriminating for Ekrem Bey in Abdul Hamid's eyes—and the romance of his daughter Naime form the introduction and explanation of Ekrem's first governorship in Jerusalem.

Evidently the duty of the Turkish Governor—then, and until the Great War—had been to strive to keep the peace between the different Christian sects in Jerusalem. Much discretion and diplomacy had to be exercised in accepting or refusing invitations from rival patriarchs, and rather Gargantuan feasts, tempered with good-nature, must be credited to the Governor, who always travelled with full complement of wife and children, their faithful attendants and soldier escort.

During the humiliations of the Occupation of Stamboul and the ferment of hopes, fears, and desires that greeted—secretly at first, and exultantly later—the glorious proclamation of the Angora Government, Selma Ekrem found her consolation and growing pride in her love for the American Girls' College, which, with its teachers from a foreign land of freedom, became her great inspiration.

It is this college which had turned out so many of the women who played a rôle among the first prominent workers in the new Republic as doctors, nurses, teachers and journalists.

Here the opening of the world of sport and freedom of movement, by means of athletics, to a young woman aching almost with the active urge pent up within her in the cloistered life of the women of Islam became a revelation to Selma Ekrem.

"The delight of a rough game of basket-ball put out of my mind the sorrow and humiliation which came upon me when I went home. In these days of oppression the College was the one place where I felt free. There the clutches of the Allies did not reach, and there I could wear my hat in peace and dream of better days."

These dreams of a free America led later to her great adventure, described in "My American Venture." The gold proverbially said to be strewn on the streets of New York eluded this plucky, young and attractive seeker of ideals. Sympathy she found, and rather unexpected promotion to the rôle of lecturer on Turkey—that hazy unknown country of mystery and massacre. Some of Selma Ekrem's observations on the curious unsentimental relations of matter-of-fact youth with their elders are amusing reading. "Are you really a Turk?" greets her time after time. "I who had dreaded to be recognized as a Turk in Turkey found it hard now to pass as a Turk in America. No one believed that I was a Turk. I was not the type."

The book is, in parts, attractive reading. One feels sympathy with a young, inquiring, impetuous mind that has lived through stirring times which occurred over her head in childhood. These were, fortunately, tempered by the love of happy parents, two sisters and a brother. A number of older aunts, uncles, grandparents and a host of retainers helped to make her childhood—as far as extraneous political events allowed—happy. We may hear more some day from Selma Ekrem's pen.

E. F. R.

Glimpses of High Politics. The Autobiography of N. V. Tcharykow, Serf-owner, Ambassador, Exile. Pp. 330. 8½ x 5½. Illustrated. Allen and Unwin. 1931. 16s.

This is an interesting book, and the writer narrates in excellent English his long and active life, impressing upon us the lesson that the condition of the serfs in his youth led to the Bolshevik domination of his old age.

M. Tcharykow was sent as a boy to the Edinburgh High School for four years, boarding with the family of a Professor, and this experience probably helped to open his eyes to the contrast between Russia, with its absolutist monarchy and powerful bureaucracy, and the liberty of Great Britain.

His father had great estates near Samara on the Volga, and all cultivation was done by the serfs; the household servants were slaves, often being part of the dowry of a bride, but M. Tcharykow points out that those on the land always believed that the soil they cultivated should be theirs.

In 1861 Alexander II., the Liberator, freed the serfs, and they were allowed to buy land on an instalment system. This, however, did not become their individual property, but belonged to the village community, an arrangement more satisfactory to the idle than to the industrious and thrifty, and the peasants exchanged their former masters for the rule of the bureaucracy and the police.

In 1875 our author, together with his friend M. Isvolsky, entered the Russian Foreign Office, and thus began a diplomatic career that ended in the Embassy of Constantinople.

When the war between Russia and Turkey broke out he joined the army and was wounded in the campaign that resulted in the taking of Plevna and the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish rule. He explains how it was that the victorious Russians did not take Constantinople, and believes that the prestige lost to the Government by its failure to do so could have been retrieved had Alexander II. granted the promised constitution. The assassination of the Liberator stopped a measure that might have altered the course of Russian history, and his two successors continued the absolutist rule that was to lead to the Revolution.

Russia, finding her energies in Europe circumscribed, now turned her attention to Central Asia, and perhaps the most interesting part of the book is where M. Tcharykow gives an account of this penetration. It began with General Skobelev's conquest of the raiding Teke Turkomans at Gook Tepe and the annexation of their territory with a capital at Ashkhabad. Later our author accompanied General Komaroff and relates how that remarkable man conquered Merv, a stronghold of Turkoman freebooters, by dint of tact and practically without bloodshed.

These experiences, and an expedition towards Herat, resulted in the post of Political Agent in Bokhara being given to M. Tcharykow. He had a real understanding of Oriental mentality, and in time persuaded the old Amir and his successor to abolish slavery, to close the infamous underground prison, and to allow the Central Asian Railway to pass through the Khanate.

This great undertaking, built by General Annenkoff from Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, passing Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand, to link up with the Moscow, Orenburg, and Tashkent line, brought, as the writer says, "peace and plenty" wherever it went.

After some fruitful years in Bokhara M. Tcharykow had posts in the Embassies at Constantinople, Sofia, Belgrade, an interesting time as Minister-Resident at the Papal Court, and was finally Ambassador at Constantinople.

He had retired and was with his family at Sebastopol during the mutiny

of the sailors of the Black Sea fleet, when he and his son were dragged from their home at 2 a. m. to be shot. For some unknown reason both were allowed to return unharmed, and M. Tcharykow spent the rest of his life at Constantinople, where he had many friends, and where he did his best to help the flood of Russian refugees seeking shelter there from the Bolsheviki menace.

ELIA C. SYKES.

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. By Muhammad Nazim. Pp. xv+271.
8½" x 5½". Cambridge University Press 15s

An authoritative history of Mahmud of Ghazni was decidedly needed, not only because of his importance in the records of Asia, but on account of the confused and inconsistent versions of his numerous incursions into India. A large portion of such original authorities as have survived have remained untranslated, while those used by previous writers, and especially by Elliott and Haverly, have often been misunderstood or presented in a corrupt form. Dr. Nazim has gone back as far as possible to the old manuscripts, and he is thus able to correct many errors and suggest new identifications. He corrects his predecessors with a certain amount of asperity, and might perhaps have remembered that many of his own statements, which he makes with confidence, are based on inferences and deductions. His corrections of the recent volume of the Cambridge History are valuable, and, it must be stated, apparently well founded. He treats V. A. Smith with greater respect, even to the extent of giving him a title, which, however richly earned, he never received, but corrects him on some important points. Dr. Nazim is particularly to be commended for describing the numerous conquests and campaigns of Mahmud geographically rather than chronologically, the order of events being sufficiently correlated by a careful summary in an appendix.

The account of Mahmud's capture and destruction of the temple of Somnath is especially valuable, since it was probably the most striking individual feat ever performed by the Muhammadan invaders of India. The date, about which there has been so much confusion even in the Cambridge History, is fixed with precision, and, what was even more doubtful, the route taken by Mahmud has been laid down with probable accuracy. Whether Dr. Nazim was successful, as he believes, in identifying for the first time the actual site of the temple is more open to question. As all who have visited the site must recognize, the line of the sea coast has altered considerably during the centuries, and there were other iconoclasts, such as Aurangzeb, after Mahmud. The reasons given for the undertaking of the raid—namely, the fame of the temple, the stories of its treasure, and the boasts of its impregnability—were doubtless sufficient inducements, as Dr. Nazim thinks, for Mahmud to undertake it. We doubt, however, whether he is not unnecessarily ruthless in rejecting totally the local tradition, still strongly held, that the representations of the Muhammadans engaged in trade upon the coast had some influence on his decision.

Dr. Nazim rightly claims that Mahmud was a great soldier and a great administrator. He states that in thirty-three years of warfare he was never defeated. This is only true if some unsuccessful sieges are omitted; but, after all, the great Duke of Wellington, though never defeated in the field, was occasionally foiled by fortresses. Whether Dr. Nazim is on equally sound ground in asserting that he was a "truly great and admirable character" is more disputable. Mahmud's treatment of the Hindus in general, and of Muhammadan schismatics, like the Carmathians, was not, Dr. Nazim asserts, due to fanaticism, because it was partly due to a political motive; but this

hardly lessens the cruelty involved, and the reader may remember Dr. Smith's view that Mahmud was a "zealous Muhammadan of the ferocious type" and "little deserving of admiration." His real title to fame, however, is the fact that he set the fashion for Muhammadan invasion of India, and thus materially affected the history of the world. The extent and permanence of his fame in India is proved by the anxiety to recover the gates taken by him from Somnāth. Much and rightly though Lord Ellenborough has been blamed for his grandiloquence about that recovery, it must be remembered that the idea was not his, and was widely held. It was doubtless unfortunate that the gates actually recovered proved to be of local Ghazni manufacture.

Finally, Dr. Nazim may be congratulated for his fine continuation of the literary tradition of the Muhammadan historical writers to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of the period.

Clive. By R. J. Minney. Pp. 248, illustrated. 9½" x 6½". London: Jarrold. 1931. 16s. net.

Mr. Minney has written a new *Life of Clive*—an ambitious undertaking, for the ground over which he travels is already well worn. He has, however, taken a path of his own, putting his story into dramatic shape and telling it dramatically. His narrative, rather lost in the lavish and florid scene-painting that overlays it, is substantially accurate as far as the main facts go. The result is a work that is certainly striking and vigorous, but lacking in authority and restraint. Its appeal is to the general reader, not to the student.

To Clive's great qualities and the splendid services that he rendered to his country Mr. Minney pays the fine tribute that history recognizes as their due. But on those points which were fiercely contested in Clive's lifetime, and afterwards in history, his loyalty to his hero leads him astray. The general reader, with Macaulay's *Essay* at the back of his mind, will be surprised and probably indignant when he finds Clive's deception of the treacherous Hindoo Omichund described as an inevitable manoeuvre, which it is difficult to condemn with sincerity or conviction (p. 132). He will be right, for the modern view of this regretted episode is very different. Mr. Roberts, its best exponent, holds that "Clive's action is really indefensible."* Mr. Minney brings forward no valid reason for holding that this just and sensible conclusion is wrong. No one disputes the gravity of the danger that caused Clive to act as he did and palliates his action. It is true that he saw no wrong in what he did, but that is no defence.

Another of these points is Clive's acceptance of a great sum of money (£234,000) from the newly installed Nawāb, Mir Jāfar, immediately after the successful revolution of which Clive was the mainspring. Here Mr. Minney seems to speak with two voices, for he describes the gift as unquestionably plunder, but plunder sanctioned by custom and the Directors of the Company, and therefore, one must assume, free from reproach. Macaulay, who had to consider much the same reasoning, found that he could not acquit Clive of having done "what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example." He is plainly right, for, in the period of misgovernment that followed soon after Clive's departure from India, the acceptance of similar presents by the Company's servants was one of the worst features of that disgraceful time. More-

* P. E. Roberts, "History of British India," 1927 edition, p. 139.

over, the Nawab's treasury was emptied by these great donations,—for Clive's was not the only one—and he entered on his administration saddled by a burden of debt from which he never recovered.

Mr. Minney does not question the propriety of Clive's acceptance from Mir Jafar, two years later, of the grant of his famous *féfir*. This assigned to him for life the quit-rent (nearly £30,000 yearly) that the Company paid to the Nawab for the lands that they held to the south of Calcutta. Mr. Minney, who here has Macaulay to back him, is probably right. But it has to be remembered that this immense additional grant was, and is, subject to criticism which is not wholly undeserved. The fact that it was fiercely attacked in Clive's lifetime is not at all surprising. The failure to recognize that in these parts of his public conduct Clive is open to censure is the weak point in Mr. Minney's work.

Clive was a great soldier—the greatest of his time in England—but he is hardly qualified to rank with Napoleon (p. 238). Plassey was a rout rather than a battle, and the strategic movements that Clive planned and executed, admirable as they were, were not on the Napoleonic scale. Nor can it fairly be claimed that his administrative ability was remarkable (p. 168). The "double government" that he established in Bengal in 1765 was his most important administrative achievement, and it broke down altogether within his lifetime. Mr. Minney does well to notice his correspondence and contact with Warren Hastings, whose claims to advancement Clive generously supported in England in 1768 and 1770, for Hastings' friends at the India House were Clive's enemies. The two men were never intimate friends, but each respected the other. Hastings was seven, not ten, years younger than Clive. The remarks that Hastings hanged Nuncomar, and that Chief Justice Impey tried and hanged him in order to help Hastings (pp. 121 and 187), would not have been written if their writer had studied the history of that celebrated trial. The book is disfigured by other slips—misprints and the like. The worst of these is the repeated use of the single word "Mir" as the designation of Mir Jafar.

Notwithstanding its imperfections, Mr. Minney's book is readable and attractive. He tells a great story with vigour and vivacity, and the portrait that he paints of its great central figure is lifelike and impressive.

A. L. P. TUCKER.

Burton: Arabian Nights Adventurer. By Fairfax Downey. 8½" x 5½".

Pp. 300. Illustrations. London: Scribner. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Downey has written an eminently readable *Life of Sir Richard Burton*. It is on the whole a very fair biography of a difficult subject. Burton's character was wild, he was essentially a vagabond, resentful of injuries real or imaginary, and intolerant of any obstacle or criticism.

The author has softened the harsher side of Burton, but has brought out clearly his many feats of endurance, and has given a good and detailed account of his travels.

A very interesting account is told of how his grandfather longed for a descendant with red hair and blue eyes. Curiously enough, although we always imagine Burton as a dark-haired, swarthy-complexioned man, he was born with red hair and blue eyes. His grandfather had made a will leaving his money to Burton's uncle, but the old man was determined that Burton should have it, and he was actually on his way to change his will when he fell dead at the doorstep of his solicitor. It is interesting to imagine what Burton

would have become had he been a rich man; there is little doubt that his genius would have pushed him to eminence in some line or another.

Mr. Downey gives us a very vivid description of Burton's adventures in India, when he dressed himself up as a Persian merchant and called himself Mirza Abdallah. This was a real training for the famous pilgrimage to Mecca, which first brought Burton into fame, though the actual journey was neither so dangerous nor so unique as has always been imagined, because several Europeans had actually been there before Burton.

It is impossible to describe, in the course of a short review, all Burton's travels and adventures in many lands; about each of these he produced a book, but, unfortunately, he wrote too fast, and took but little trouble in their composition. He wrote in blunt, disconnected sentences, and his chapters were ill-constructed. His books were full of information and learning, but not on the whole very readable, his humour was ponderous, and his criticism personal and savage.

The greatest good fortune that happened to Burton was that he married a most courageous lady, who was passionately devoted to him. The list that she prepared of seventeen regulations for her own guidance as a wife might well serve as a basis for the happiness of any woman.

History will, however, probably accord Burton his strongest claim to fame as being due to his translation of the "Arabian Nights." In this he was in his element, and his great knowledge of Eastern lore and manners was given full scope. The book brought him a profit of £12,000 to solace his old age when all his other schemes for making money had failed. H. S.

Britmis. By Major Phelps Hodges. Pp. 364. 2 maps and 16 illustrations 8" x 5½". Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d net. 1931

Britmis (the official abbreviation for the British Military Mission in Siberia) is the story of Major Phelps Hodges' adventures whilst serving with the White Russian Army in 1919. After a period as an artillery instructor he was detailed to act as liaison officer with the Orenburg Cossacks. He then became involved in a retreat which led him into the steppes north of Lake Balkhash, whence, after crossing the Kirghiz Steppe in company with a few companions, he finally reached Peking via the Gobi Desert.

The first few chapters of this book deal, in a rather incoherent way, with the events in Russia which led to the formation of Britmis, and Phelps Hodges' efforts to get himself attached to the Force. He writes: "I soon discovered that a number of temporary officers who would be demobilized on their return to England were being retained, while Regulars were being sent home. After all, the army was my profession, and the experience to be gained while serving with the Mission would be of far more importance to me in my career than to a T.G. (sic), who would soon be out of the army altogether."

The book continues in this vein, and is for the most part a dull chronicle of the petty inconveniences of travel in a difficult country. Major Hodges was travelling on duty, and naturally had no time to make a detailed study of his surroundings. Even so the great spaces of Central Asia must have made some impression upon him, and it is a pity he tells us nothing of the many beautiful and interesting things it must have been his privilege to see. As it is the book is much too long and badly needs pulling together.

C. J. MORRIS.

With Cyclists round the World. By Adi B. Hakim, Jal P. Bapasola, Rustom J. Bhumgara. Bombay, 1931.

This book gives an interesting account of the adventures of three young Parsis, who rode round the world on bicycles. Starting from Bombay, their hardships began on leaving Quetta for the 600 miles of desert which lay between them and inhabited Persia. There was fortunately little risk of losing their way, owing to the railway which was constructed during the Great War, but, even so, the unutterable desolation, the bad track and the lack of water supplies made the test a severe one. Indeed, stones, sand and the guarded railway stations, where the garrisons have to be always on the alert for Afghan raiding parties, were particularly noticed by the cyclists.

Upon crossing into Persia, they found Duzdab, the terminus of the railway, "an important little town of 2000 inhabitants," among whom there were several Indian traders. Special help was needed to cross the Lut to Fahrah, since the waterless stretches are dangerously wide and, as I know by experience, the water is very salt. However, motors now run across this waste to Kerman, thereby uniting Eastern Persia to India. There is also the telegraph line, recently handed over to Persia with its line guards and, thanks to them, our travellers safely reached Kerman, where they were welcomed by their co-religionists.

They were now able to travel without difficulty to Yazd, the chief centre of the Zoroastrian community in Persia, and so to Shiraz, making various inaccurate statements as they proceeded, which was perhaps inevitable under the circumstances.

From Shiraz they pedalled northwards to Tehran, where Shah Riza, then the powerful Minister of War, supplied them with a document that excused the payment of the frequent tolls, which afford officials the chance of "squeezing" unfortunate travellers.

From Tehran they made for Baghdad, and, as it was midsummer, the onward journey constituted a problem. They wisely did not attempt the direct desert route between Ramadh and Damascus, a distance of 500 miles; but, even so, the Euphrates route proved to be sufficiently dangerous. The climax of their journey was experienced in the Syrian desert, where they lost their way in one of the terrific sand-storms, and were finally succoured by a party of the Foreign Legion when they were in a state of collapse from exhaustion, hunger, and thirst. From Syria they travelled to Jerusalem, and from Gaza, as in Babulistan, followed a railway line across the desert, to Egypt and so Westward Ho! to Europe and America.

We may certainly congratulate these Parsi cyclists on their courage and grit, which never failed them, while their comments are at times amusing. They owed much to the kindness with which they were treated almost everywhere, nor have they failed to acknowledge it.

P. M. SYKES.

India's Religion of Grace and Christianity. Compared and Contrasted.

By Professor Rudolf Otto. Translated by Dr. F. H. Foster. 7½ x 5. Pp 144. Illustrations. London S.C.M. Press, Ga.

The Bhakti teaching of Brahminism, arising from the Upanishads, which has been called the Salvation Religion of India, has long been the object of earnest and sympathetic study of those who would understand the soul of Hindu India and the real religion of Brahmin thinkers. The yearning for salvation, for "release," has always been more marked in Eastern than in Western mentalities, and was of course the essence of Gautama's teaching

when he had himself attained "enlightenment" and could say with Cromwell, "I know not if I am now 'in Grace,' but I know I was once."

Brahmin thought has always centred round the hidden God, the great Spirit that is behind the Universe, and in dealing with the lesser Gods of popular Hinduism, considers such as the conceptions and persons of the Deity as conceivable by very limited minds. The conception of the Upanishads, which came, many years before the Christian era, as a flash, to the deeper theological minds of India, that Brahman, God Almighty, the World-Soul, was everything, Joy, Consciousness, Reality, is the beginning of the Bhakti teaching. Atman, the spark of life and soul in every living thing, is but a particle from the World. Atman, the soul of all, with which again reunion is possible, covers the whole gamut of Brahmin thought.

The beauty and grace of this conception as developed in India through the ages has made some of the Christian missionaries in India draw very close to Brahmin thought. But it is because it has sometimes been suggested that not only should Christianity draw much nearer to Vedic and Upanishad writing, but that they for India should be considered as taking the place of the Old Testament in a world-Christian Scripture, that Professor Otto has written his book. There has further been an idea that Christian and Brahmin might join in the Lord's Prayer. Professor Otto, while yielding more than full tribute to the beauty, the mysticity and the spirituality of the Bhakti religion, at once calls for a definite stop.

The conceptions of *Isvara*, and of the New Testament Jehovah, are very different. "*Isvara* thrones in eternity, deep beneath rushes the stream of the world, and humanity in *samsara*, in ever repeated cycles of woeful birth and rebirth. In this world the wandering soul strolls, separated from *Isvara* by its fall and lost in the confusion of the world. Now and again a soul is lifted to *Isvara*, but this world rushes and runs on from one æon to another. Never does it become the abode of the glory or honour of God. It remains ever what it is, a *lila*, a sport of the Deity . . . never arriving at a fulness of worth, never glorified and made an abode of the Kingdom."

The two conceptions are essentially different despite all the beauty of thought in Bhaktism. Dr. Foster's translation of Professor Otto's book has the extreme merit to the lay reader of putting the higher theological conceptions in very clear and simple language.

G. MACM.

Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan: A Reading Guide. By C. H. Hamilton. 7½" x 5½". Pp. viii + 107. University of Chicago Press.

This is one of that type of industrious compilations which emanate most frequently from Germany, and of recent years, from the United States. It has been put together by a Professor in an American Missionary College, and is evidently meant to help prospective missionaries to some knowledge of what they seek to convert the people from in Buddhist lands—a perfectly laudable intention. It gives brief outlines of the beliefs prevalent in such Buddhist lands as Ceylon, China and Japan, and also India, so far as its scant Buddhist population goes, and a list of the books in English, and a few in French and German, worth reading upon the points mentioned in the outlines. And certainly anyone who fully followed the course of reading in Buddhism here sketched out for him would acquire a very fair book knowledge of the great religion of the East. Yet the list of really valuable books upon Buddhism is very far from complete, for preference is very evidently given to those from the

pens of Christian missionaries of one sect or another, while much more important works from neutral or appreciative sources are left unnoted.

For instance, L. A. Waddell is described as "an authority on Tibetan Buddhism," although he gathered all the materials for his books on Tibetan Buddhism merely during a residence in Sikkim; while the books (in French) of Mme. Alexandra David-Neel which are obviously of incomparably greater value, for they are by one acquainted in a manner quite unique with the language and religious literature of Tibet, are not even named. Again, the profoundly penetrating studies in Tantrism of "Arthur Avalon" receive no mention in the indication of what should be read on that subject, while the merely superficial allusions to the same in Sir Charles Elliot's book on Hinduism and Buddhism, and a missionary, J. N. Farquhar's book on Indian religious literature, and the article in the E.R.E. on "Buddhist Literature," are the sole references given upon this much misrepresented phase of Indian religious practice.

There are one or two rather odd statements scattered throughout the book, such as this on p. 43: "Evidently Mahinda brought the Buddhist teachings in his memory to Ceylon . . . and [these] constitute our Pali texts as we have them today." They have mighty memories for literature in the East, but hardly anything so colossal as this. And why mislead the prospective missionary to Ceylon by telling him that the ordination of Buddhist Bhikkhus takes place only once a year, and at only two monasteries in the up country town of Kandy! Also there was no need to repeat on p. 76, for the confusion of trusting readers, De Groot's terrific "howler" that in China, the second stage of ordination into the Sangha by which a candidate becomes a Bhikkhu is equivalent to becoming an *arhat* in Hinayana Buddhism.

Despite these and similar aberrations and a few misspellings, this is a guide to Buddhist reading not without value so far as it goes; and it is only fair to add that its compiler in his foreword expressly disclaims finality for his outlines or exhaustiveness for his references. But the non-missionary interested in Buddhism will do well to look a little further afield for information on that religion than in the paths here indicated, sympathy conducting one so much deeper into the heart of a religion than does mere criticism or lien aloofness

J. F. M.

La Mer Rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'Antiquité. By Albert Kammerer. With Introduction by M. G. Hanotaux, de l'Académie Française. Royal Geographical Society of Egypt. Published under the auspices of his Majesty King Fouad I. Vol. I., Parts I., II., and III., "The Countries of the Erythrean Sea to the end of the Middle Ages." Parts I. and II., liv+102 pages, with 37 plates; Part III., 200 pages, 75 plates. Cairo. 1920.

These pretentious volumes, measuring 14½"×11", weigh no less than 10½ lbs., and even if sent separately are too heavy for despatch by book post. Such a work might before the Deluge have been considered as light reading, and might have found a place in the public libraries of Brobdingnag, but we cannot hope that it will find readers whose expectation of life does not exceed the span anticipated by the Psalmist, and whose library, like their physical strength, is subject to normal limitations. The cost of postage by parcel post is upwards of 7s. 6d., according to the country of destination. The volumes are bound in the flimsiest of paper covers and so insecurely stitched with the thinnest of cotton that even with the most reverent handling they would fall to pieces within a few weeks. To bind them in cloth would cost a private

owner about 10s. for each volume, or 20s. in all, though it could have been done at the press for about 1s. per volume. The illustrations and maps are attached to a flimsy guard, and would very easily become detached even after the book is bound. The actual cost of the book on the library shelves is thus about double the published price. The total letterpress consists of about 260,000 words, and could easily have been printed in the same type in two handy volumes of crown octavo of approximately 320 pages each, with maps and illustrations in a separate portfolio or volume of the same size. It might then have been of use to students and of interest to the instructed public.

The work, a further instalment of which is promised in 1932, is a monument to the industry of the author, and brings together, though, as explained above, not in a convenient form, a great amount of material of value to scholars. It is designed to be encyclopædic in its scope, but in this respect falls far short of completeness. It contains, for example, no reference to Count Landberg's expedition of 1898-99 to the southern coast of Arabia, nor to the important work of Dr. Maximilian Bittner on material brought home by Dr. Muller's Arabian expedition of 1902. We miss any reference to authors of first-class importance, such as Hamza of Isfahan, Mas'udi (ed. B. Meynard); there is no reference to Gabriel Ferrand's "Relations de Voyages," and other authorities such as Noldeke are inadequately cited. Various writers in the Encyclopædia of Islam are given far less weight than they merit, and the Encyclopædia itself is nowhere referred to. Persian incursions into Arabia in early times are scarcely touched on. The Achæmenian Empire is not even mentioned in the index. Yet Oman was for centuries under Persian control, and the conquest of Yemen in the fifth century A.D. by Nushirwan is one of the most important events of the period. There are also very few references to the leading authorities on the trade between China and the Red Sea, and the work of Hadi Hasan on "Persian Navigation," which has hitherto received far less attention at the hands of scholars than it deserves, though published in 1898, is not referred to. Nor can we trace amongst the plates the important map of the world according to Qazwini. In the chapter on Oman there is no reference to Jayakar's valuable papers in the *J.R.A.S.*

In a word, these two volumes are a mine of information and may be of service to scholars, but the author has attempted too much, and the history alike of Abyssinia and Arabia from ancient times to the present remains to be written. In the meantime, for general utility these two volumes do not compare favourably with Messrs. Cary and Warrington's work, "The Ancient Explorers," 1930, which is a model of compression as well as of lucid exposition.

A. T. WILSON.

Zanzibar: Its History and its People. By W. H. Ingrams. Pp. 527, with plates, text figures and maps. London: H. F. and G. Witherby. 1931. 25s.

Mr. Ingrams, who before being transferred to Mauritius had spent eight years (1919-27) in the service of the Zanzibar Government, is, as proved by several earlier publications, a recognized authority on the past and present of this Sultanate. The book under review represents a mine of valuable information, and is a very able and timely supplement of the none too numerous works on one of the most attractive British Protectorates, one moreover which was for centuries the principal emporium of East Africa.

The author deals with the history, anthropology and ethnology of Zanzibar

in a way that makes instructive and pleasant reading, in spite of the extensive material he had to compress in a single volume. The historical part covers the early history of the East African coast, deals with the native tribes and dynasties of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and gives a good summary of the Zanzibari Omani Empire up to the present time. The outstanding personality of Said bin Sultan (1791-1856), who extended the Arabian sovereignty from Oman to the distant countries of East Africa, who inaugurated the period lasting to this day of closest and most loyal co-operation with Great Britain, is out of consideration of space briefly but, on the whole, duly appreciated. Yet the bibliography with reference to this ruler could have been more extensive in the interest of those who like to follow up closely the achievements of that remarkable man. Here it might be mentioned that Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud did not abdicate (p. 176), but that the reign of this unfortunate man ended in his deposition by the Power which had placed him on the throne.

Ingrams does well-deserved justice to the British representatives, who, like Hamerton, Kirk, Rold, Matthews and, lately, Hollis, have cemented and improved the relations and have done so much to develop the resources and reform the conditions of life in the country.

The anthropological and ethnological parts of the book are of special value to students of these domains of learning, as in no previous publication have they been so well and fully compiled. Ingrams mentions (p. 49) an "Egyptian idol" as having been found at Mogadisho, and he expresses doubt as to its present whereabouts. It is known, however, that this piece—a clay figure about 12½ cm. high—was presented at the close of last or the beginning of this century to the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and that it is supposed to be of Indian origin. The Swahili language is fully and well dealt with. But it might not have been amiss also to refer briefly to the Oman Zanzibar dialect of Arabic, which is an idiom peculiar to these two countries.

(On page 85 reference is made to "the first crossing of the African continent by a European. This was achieved by a Genoese, called Leone Vivaldi, who crossed from West, reaching Mogadisho about the end of the eleventh century." This statement seems to need verification. We know (d'Avezac, "L'Expedition Genoise des Freres Vivald" Paris, 1859) that the two brothers Hugolin and Gui sailed from Genoa in 1291 for the west coast of Africa, and were retained with their companions at the Senegal River by the natives, never to return. Antoine Usodunare found more than 170 years later the last scion of those adventurers. The son of one of the Vivaldis, Ser Leonia, went in search of his father to East Africa, and is reported to have arrived by way of Egypt about 1320 in Magdasor, but was not allowed by the ruler of that place to continue inland ("Le Navigazione Atlantiche, a cura di Rinaldo Caddeo." Edizione "Alpea" Milano, 1928).

The book is well produced with plates, text figures and two maps. In every respect it does credit to the author, the publisher, and to the Zanzibar Government, who subsidized the work; it will rank as one of the best works on Zanzibar ever written.

R. S.-R.

I.a Perse au Contact de l'Occident. Etude historique et sociale. By Ali Akbar Siassi. Leroux, Paris. 1931. 50 francs.

This is a valuable essay of some 250 pages on modern Persia by a professor at the University of Tehran, who is also attached to the French Legation in Persia. His general attitude is strongly pro-French (his travels do not appear to have extended to Syria since the war). His description of Persia's

contacts with the West include the scantiest references to current relations with Turkey and Iraq, and his attitude towards Great Britain is neither judicial nor historically accurate, probably owing to his lack of acquaintance with published works in the English language. Had he studied on the one hand the series of British Parliamentary Papers dealing with Persia (still obtainable from P. S. King and Sons, of Great Smith Street, London, S.W. 1), or on the other the works of E. G. Browne on British policy in Persia, his narrative would have gained in interest. He has, too, ignored all Russian sources.

It is nevertheless a valuable contemporary commentary on current events, and one which deserves study by all who seek to understand the mainsprings of current thought in intellectual circles in Tehran.

His first concern is that the Europeanization of Persia should proceed apace: he realizes its dangers, and he regrets the concomitant loss of much that is good, but he is convinced (p. 238) that the advantages are ten times greater than any possible disadvantages. He regrets especially the increase in personal wants and the unsatisfied desires that contact with the West awakes in a society which was formerly comparatively free from this modern disease. He criticizes the handicap that Islam has placed upon his country, especially in respect of the status of women. He welcomes the declining status of the clergy, and is confident that the future of Persia under present conditions is more hopeful than it has been for a century or more. The menace of Soviet Russia scarcely comes within his purview, and is beyond the scope of this review, but it deserves more consideration than Dr. Ali Akbar Siassi has yet vouchsafed to us in his published work.

A. T. W.

The Red Men of Nigeria. An account of a lengthy residence among the Fulani or "Red Men" and other pagan tribes of Central Nigeria, with a description of their head-hunting, pastoral, and other customs, habits, and religion. By Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden, with preface by Bronislaw Malinowski, Professor of Anthropology at the University of London. One volume. Pp. lxxx + 308, illustrations, maps. London: Service and Co., Ltd. 1930. 21s.

In his preface Professor Malinowski points out how necessary and useful it is for Government officials responsible for the administration of native races to have a thorough knowledge of these peoples' customs and habits, and notes with satisfaction the policy of the Colonial Office in this direction.

Captain J. R. Wilson-Haffenden has spent much time with the Fulani and the Kwotto during which he made the best of his opportunities for carefully studying their customs. His observations which he unites in this volume are particularly valuable, as the writer has had a good training in ethnology and especially in the functional side of it, so that he is able to sift his material and bring out more particularly those customs that have a direct bearing on the social life of the people. In the first sixty pages he tells us of his movements in the country and his

experiences before he came into contact with the Fulani and the Kwotto people. Of the Fulani he gives some interesting information, comparing the customs of the sedentary town-people with those of the wandering nomads, especially in regard to social customs, cattle, marriage, and festivals. His observations are particularly interesting, since our knowledge of the Fulani is as yet slight, and we hope that some day he may tell us more on this subject. With the Kwotto people he deals more fully, going into the question of their origin, their taboos and totems, witchcraft and magic, religious rites of propitiation and expiation, head-hunting and trial by ordeal, followed by a fuller and most interesting account of their social and domestic life, and giving us a complete life-story of a Kwotto. The book is well illustrated and should be read by all students of social anthropology.

HANNS VISCHER.

The Tarim Basin and Takla-Makan Desert. Pamphlets: Die Lobwüste u. das Lobnor Problem. Tarim Becken u. Takla-Makan Wüste. Die Zentral Asien Expedition, 1927-28. By Emil Trinkler.

By the death of Professor Emil Trinkler, reported in *The Times* of April 22 last, the ranks of German scientists have lost a geologist of repute, who at an early age had already made his mark in distant fields of travel, notably in Afghanistan, where, coming from Russian Turkestan and entering the country at Herat, he spent some months in 1924 mostly at Kabul, during which time he was commissioned by the Ameer to prospect for coal in the foothills of the Hindu Kush to the north of the capital.

In the course of his tour he also visited northern India, and realized on the spot, and bore testimony to, the manifold advantages accruing to the country as the outcome of sane, practical, and sympathetic administration by the Anglo-Indian Government. Herr Trinkler is an example of the type of traveller whose powers of observation have been quickened by patient antecedent study of the countries to be visited, of their peoples, institutions, customs, languages, etc., and who succeeds in bringing away much accurate information of such lands precisely because he has systematically qualified himself for the task beforehand.

His work on Afghanistan covers much ground and is characterized throughout by German thoroughness and scientific acumen. Herr Trinkler's work some three years later in Chinese Turkestan—which is the immediate subject of this review—cannot be correctly appraised until the scientific results achieved by his expedition have been given to the world in due form and translated into English. The former task may now fall to the lot of the well-known geologist, Dr. de Terra, of Berlin, and the member of the expedition immediately responsible for

the geological studies made in the Karakoram and Kunlun mountain ranges.

Leaving Leh in May, 1927, the expedition, almost at once crippled in its transport by loss of horses through their straying, and of yaks through their exhaustion from lack of pasturage or overwork—both common incidents of Asiatic travel—found its way through Ladakh and the Western Tibet highlands to the Chinese border at Suget-Karaul, whence with fresh transport the party proceeded northwards, crossing the main range of the Kunlun by the Sanju Pass and descending thence into the basin of the Yarkand River.

During the following seven months, October to May, Herr Trinkler and his companion, Dr. Bosshard, of Zurich, devoted themselves to exploration in the Takla-Makan Desert, while Dr. de Terra visited the foothills and higher regions of the Kunlun in order to obtain geological data in regard to their formation and composition. Coming together again at Kashgar in July, 1928, it was decided, owing to the unfavourable attitude of the Chinese authorities, to abandon further work in the Tarim Basin, the return being made by the Karakoram route to Leh and Srinagar, while Herr Bosshard left in December to take the collections to Germany by the overland route through Russian Turkestan.

Chinese opposition to the export of the various objects of archaeological and historical interest collected by European scientific expeditions may be regarded not alone as a sign of jealousy of the foreigner, but, happily, as evidence of a growing national enlightenment and of a dawning appreciation of the cultural values attaching to relics of past ages. This public sentiment may, in proportion as conditions in the faction-ridden Republic become more settled, be embodied in legislation designed to prevent exploitation, and framed much on the lines of the Bill now before the House of Commons (and shortly, as an agreed measure, to become an Act), under which, among other provisions, the export in whole or in part of an ancient monument, whether an occupied house or not, is prohibited—a form of export from which, be it observed, we British have suffered of late years.

The spiritual development and intellectual emancipation noticeable in better-educated sections of the populations of backward countries in this much-shrunken and closely interlocked present-day world is apt to take place with startling rapidity, and one cannot but sympathize with manifestations of it.

Possibly, in this instance, the solution of the difficulty will be found in the adoption of a *modus vivendi* on the basis of an agreed division of collections made by a foreign expedition under the official sanction of the local authorities.

Dr. Trinkler describes the well-known features of the Tarim Basin,

and passes in review the data and views of previous travellers, which, as he points out, do not always correspond in all particulars.

The former, as enumerated by him, are the position of the basin shut in between two great parallel mountain ranges on north and south; the deeply eroded valleys of the Kunlun, the alluvial fans irrigated by the canals taken off and fed from the river stream traversing the fan in each case, the agglomerations of detritus along the foothills brought down from the glaciers, the belt of cultivation at the foot of the range on the line of the ancient east and west highway connecting oases, by which caravan communication between China and Europe was maintained in the first centuries of the Christian era, and, lastly, he dwells on the erosive action of the glacier waters, which, in the summer season, when the rivers are in flood owing to the melting of the snow, carry down on to the Takla Makan Desert large quantities of sand and mud, and where in course of time the sand so deposited is by the action of the wind piled up into dunes, while the mud is lifted up and, in the form of dust, carried back and redeposited (the prevailing wind across the desert being a north-easterly one) on the northern slopes of the Kunlun range, where, as loess, it gradually becomes banked up to a height of several thousand feet. The writer may here remark that the first view of the great loess formations to be met with in some parts of China proper is a startlingly impressive sight—a baffling one, too, should it not be known to the presumably non-scientific traveller that loess is an aeolian deposit, a fact first established by Baron Richthofen (1833-1905).

In treating of the Turan Basin and the Takla-Makan Desert it is the geological problem which seems to engross the attention of Herr Trinkler and claim his interest, and one can only regret that the illuminating work, "The Structure of Asia," by Professor J. W. Gregory, had not then been published.

The perusal of the former's papers leaves the impression on the mind that a life of singular promise has been cut off.

L. St. C. P.

Japan's Population Problem: The Coming Crisis By W. R. Crocker.
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp 240. Allen and Unwin. 10s 6d.

"Japan consumes more seaweed than meat" is an arresting statement in Mr. W. R. Crocker's important book "The Japanese Population Problem." This statement is illustrative of the fact that many phases of Japanese life other than population are covered by this book, and "Japan Today" would perhaps be a more suitable title.

The definite conclusion one must come to after reading this book is that Japan's economic fabric is built on an unsound foundation. If the U.S.A. were suddenly to cease taking Japan's silk, and China her manufactured cottons, Japan would be in parlous plight. The returns she gets on agriculture are miserably inadequate, and life is only made possible for the farming population by sericulture, which has grown up as a secondary employment

for the poorly remunerated farmer. The hard and concentrated work that the farmer has put into the soil has only resulted in Diminishing Returns, and it is difficult to foresee how this may be combated in the future.

Japan is faced with the practical certainty of an increase in her population of 15 to 20 millions in the next generation, and this, allowing for reduced families, emigration, birth control, and all the other forces which may come into being.

Mr. Crocker has written a book which at first sight one would say was not meant for the general reader, but I have no hesitation in recommending it to any student of international affairs. Mr. Crocker's figures are well chosen and illuminating. The facts that England is twice as dependent on imported food as France, that Malaya has a foreign trade *per capita* nearly 70 per cent. greater than the United Kingdom, are amongst the many unexpected pieces of information available to the reader.

Mr. Crocker has given us some plain speaking about the position of China, which is refreshing when the situation is so often obscured by sentimental idealism.

"'Unequal treaties' were imposed because no competent state existed. The same fact—lack of governance—is still behind the turmoil of today." How true, though perhaps unpalatable, to the Chinese anti-foreign agitator.

To me Mr. Crocker's chapter on Manchuria was the most interesting in the book. Here we have Japan with some £200 millions of money invested, and far more important than the actual money, the coal and iron deposits at Fusan, Penshi Hu and Anshan. I do not think Japan will ever make serious objection to Chinese railway development in Manchuria; in fact, Mr. Matsuoka, then Vice President of the South Manchurian Railway, told me as much in the course of an unofficial conversation in 1927, but she will insist on order and good government in her South Manchurian railway zone, and who shall say that she is not right, in spite of the fact that many backward peoples believe that good government is no substitute for self-government?

I fear that I disagree with Mr. Crocker's conclusion that the major issue of Japan's policy in Manchuria is the matter of immigration. I have not the figures of Japanese immigration into Manchuria, but I do know from personal experience that the number of Japanese immigrants is small. One of the results of the tranquillizing effect of the South Manchurian Railway zone has been a vast influx of Chinese, but where are the vast hordes of Japanese? They are certainly not visible in Manchuria. To oust Japan from Manchuria would be a war to the death, as Mr. Crocker says, but has he considered the fact that China may use the boycott weapon in her endeavour to oust Japan from Manchuria? Supposing a boycott was started throughout China until Japan removed herself from Manchuria? Here is a problem of first-class importance which must be present in the minds of many Japanese statesmen.

The worst of our troubles never happen, and it is to be hoped that Japan will find herself able to surmount the difficulties which lie in her path. With Mr. Crocker, I have not a great deal of faith in emigration as a solution of her coming troubles with excess population. I cannot see the Japanese working on the countless acres of Manchuria alongside the Chinese. Their standards are too far apart. Further industrialization may help, but, as Mr. Crocker so truly points out, most countries are gradually establishing their own industries, and as these industries become more important so will these countries' imports of manufactured goods decrease.

The most melancholy fact which emerges from Mr. Crocker's book is the steady, nay rapid, decline of the trade of the United Kingdom in the Far East.

A final word of recommendation to the reader: he will obtain a great deal of information and instruction, and quite a lot of entertainment, by reading Mr. Crocker's very able book.

H. ST. CLAIR SMALLWOOD.

A History of Chinese Art. By George Soulie de Morant. Translated by Gerald C. Wheeler. 9½" x 7½". Pp. 296. Illustrations. London, Bombay and Sydney: G. C. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 25s. net.

This is a pleasant volume to read and to look at, for it is well illustrated. There are eighty plates of illustrations in collotype, and a good many Chinese woodcuts and rubbings, which though anatomically correct, do not, in their copy-book lines, give the realistic picture to which our European methods have accustomed us.

Monsieur Soulie de Morant, who was for a number of years in the French Consular Service in China, has set out to describe Chinese art in chronological and historical order, and in doing this he has read into the different authentically-dated specimens a style which he thinks links them to the period during which each was made. The whole of the book is founded on the lines in which he refers to French art. "Style would seem to be linked with the events of its time . . . Thus the Louis XV. spirit well expresses that elegant and polished ideal which was realized by the upper classes, and at the same time for the people was the true expression of happiness, until the moment came when the abuses of taxation became a burden, and brought about the revolt of Rousseau and the friends of simplicity. The Louis XVI. spirit, as a result, strips itself of all ornaments and adopts simple and straight lines, without, however, putting an end to the excesses of taxation which are leading up to the Revolution. After this storm of bestiality and savagery the fear-stricken people sees its safety in the strong hand of a powerful leader, like the Praetorians of Old Rome; and this ideal expresses itself in the neo-Roman style of the First Empire, itself to disappear likewise through excessive conscription and taxation.

"Thus a persistent dream expresses itself each time as something new, until those that have ministered to it have destroyed it by their abuses. The ideal and the style are then rejected with horror; there must be a different expression."

It is by following this method that the author shows the way to a better understanding of the ideas underlying Chinese art. There is, however, little that will be fresh to the serious student, for M. de Morant does not delve deeply and there is no new light, nor does there seem to be any improvement on the methods of Dr. N. W. Bushell in his "Chinese Art," and M. Paleologue in his "L'Art Chinois," where exact illustrations and descriptions are made of objects selected from museum galleries, with information upon their origin and historical association.

There is a vast amount of Chinese literature on this subject, most of it inaccessible to Europeans, and in trying to get hold of the wonders of Oriental art the lover of it may well find great difficulty. But to take this history of M. de Morant's and read the interesting tale it unfolds, with appropriate illustrations to show the points he makes, will be for the budding dilettante an informative treat, and one that will yield a useful general view of this fascinating subject.

A closer study of detail would have led the author to add data of value. Thus, for instance, in dealing with the Chu Yung Kuan on p. 186, he describes

the bas-reliefs as being decorative "with something of the conventional aspect of Buddhist figures which represent the four kings of the Devas." His readers will be left unaware that this very historical archway in the Nank'ou Pass, built in A.D. 1340, has inscriptions in six languages, one of which is in the defunct Bashpa script composed by a Tibetan Lama in A.D. 1380. Nor does he mention that the deeply-carved massive blocks of marble, of Buddhist symbols, Naga kings and Dhritarashtra, the great guardian King of the East, which compose the archway, can be studied in detail in the splendid album published by Prince Roland Bonaparte in Paris.

Probably a deeper dipping into history would have altered the character of this book from its style of "he who runs may read" to one of more serious value.

Sculpture, ceramics, bronze, pictures and the other decorative arts are lightly handled in a way that should appeal to a wide public. It might seem ungracious to say that if this book had not been written it would never have been missed. At the same time a perusal of it will whet the appetite for more and lead the student on to regions where writers such as those already quoted will be able to furnish more solid fare. A word of praise can safely be given to Mr. Wheeler, the translator.

G. D. G.

Tourmente sur l'Afghanistan. By Andrée Viollis. 8" x 5½". Pp. 240.

Illustrations. Paris: Librairie Valois. 1930. 15 fra.

This book, upon the happenings in Kabul during the closing days of the reign of the Tajik bandit, Bachcha Sakkao, and the subsequent accession to the throne of the present king, Nadir Shah, makes very interesting reading.

The authoress is undoubtedly handicapped in giving a strictly authentic account of affairs, partly owing to her stay in Kabul being limited to a matter of fifteen days, and partly on account of her having to take refuge in the French Legation, which itself came in for a good deal of very unpleasant attention, due, no doubt, to its close proximity to the Arg.

The narrative is a little difficult to follow at times, for the writer combines her accounts of the sieges and conflicts with descriptions of the various tribes and interviews with certain people in Kabul. Much of the information given is undoubtedly correct, but there are a number of minor mistakes which, in the special circumstances, one can excuse.

Madame Viollis deserves every admiration for her pluck in venturing on such a dangerous undertaking, as it certainly was at that time.

The flight in a Russian aeroplane from Tashkent to Termez, and then across the Hindu Kush to Kabul, was in itself, to say the least of it, thrilling. Owing to bad weather a forced landing had to be made at Samarkand on the first stage of the journey, and on the second lap the travellers ran into a rather fierce sandstorm which delayed them at Termez for a few days.

It is worth mentioning the reference made by Madame Viollis to the Central Asian Air Service, which runs from Semipalatinsk in Siberia to Kabul, and from the coast of Persia to the boundaries of China. On this route are made many flights of unaccountable danger; and whilst no fatal accidents are on record so far, the dangerous aspect of these journeys can be gathered when it is realized that the pilots are not expected to do the more hazardous flights, such as that to Kabul, more than five times in a year.

The authoress explains the terrible state of chaos which reigned in the capital during her stay there, which, however, did not finally cease until the

government of the country was placed in the capable hands of Nadir Shah, after his famous brother, General Shah Wali Khan, had recaptured Kabul from the rebels.

It is interesting to observe that when Habibullah (or Bachcha Sakkao) realized that he was defeated he retired to the Arg, taking with him the families of the three brothers, Nadir Khan, Shah Wali Khan, and Hoosham Mahommed Khan. This caused Shah Wali Khan to hesitate before attacking, but he finally decided that the life of his country depended upon it, with the result that the place was bombarded and subsequently captured. Fortunately the families of Shah Wali Khan and his brothers were restored to them without suffering serious injury.

The authoress goes on to point out that at the beginning of Bachcha Sakkao's reign he governed wisely and firmly, the army was well-disciplined and augmented, Amanullah's relations were treated with consideration, and it was not until he felt that the end was coming that he tried to keep order by public executions and secret assassinations.

The book rather gives one the impression that France, first and foremost, is the truest friend of the present King and Government of Afghanistan, and the writer goes on to say that the King shows great admiration for, and attachment to, the French; he is proposing to open the schools, build roads, railways, etc., with the aid of foreign Powers and foreign capital. She suggests that France could provide them with experts of all kinds, and give advice on finance.

Her reference to the country being rich in minerals, gold, ruby, oil, etc., is certainly correct, and I most certainly agree with her that Afghanistan should recover with astonishing rapidity. In fact, from the information in my possession at the present time, it is truly amazing what strides have been made, even since this book was published, under the steady and sensible government of the present King, who, Madame Violis emphasizes, is the greatest and most important man in all Islam, and that France has indeed a very precious friend in him.

There is a small sketch map and a number of interesting photographs, the last three being of a rather grisly nature.

This is certainly a book which should be read by everyone interested in Afghanistan, as the reviewer believes most sincerely that it is a country which is destined to play a very important part in the future of Asia owing to its extraordinary geographical position, and its geographical similarity as Switzerland is to Europe.

R. M. S. MORRISON.

The following books have been received for review

"An Elementary Marathi Grammar," by (' N. Seddon. 7½" x 5". vii + 62 pp. (London: H. Milford 1931. 3s.)

"An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam," by R. Levy, M.A. Vol. I. 9" x 5½" viii + 410 pp. (London: Williams and Norgate. 1931. 1 gn.)

"Les Arabes et l'Islam en face des Nouvelles Croisades et Palestine et Sionisme," by Eugene Jung. 9" x 5½". 78 pp. (Paris. 1931.)

"Asia's Teeming Millions and its Problems for the West," by Etienne Denney. 8" x 5½". 248 pp. Maps. Illustrations. (London: Cape. 1931. 10s. 6d.)

"Britania: A Great Adventure of the War," by Major Phelps Hodges. 8" x 5½". 364 pp. Maps. Illustrations. (London: Cape. 1931. 12s. 6d.)

- "Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan," by C. H. Hamilton. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". viii+107 pp. (U.S.A.: University of Chicago Press. 1931. 4s. 6d.)
- "Burton, Arabian Nights Adventurer," by Fairfax Downey. 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiii+300 pp. Illustrations. (London: Scribner. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Cattle Car Express," by Emil Lengyel. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 298 pp. (U.S.A.: Ralph Beaver Strassburger Foundations. 1931.)
- "Natural History of Central Asia. Vol. IV.: The Permian of Mongolia," by A. W. Grabau. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xliii+665 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (New York: Natural History Museum. 1931. £3 2s.)
- "Clive," by R. J. Minney. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 288 pp. Illustrations. (London: Jarrolds. 1931. 16s.)
- "The Crusades: The Flame of Islam," by Harold Lamb. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 413 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (London: Thornton Butterworth. 1931. 16s.)
- "Himalayan Art," by J. C. French. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiv+117 pp. Plates. Map. (London: Milford. 1931. 25s.)
- "A History of Chinese Art, from Ancient Times to the Present Day," by G. S. De Morant. (Translated by Wheeler.) 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 296 pp. Illustrations. (London: Harrap. 1931. 25s.)
- "History of Palestine," by A. S. Rappoport. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 368 pp. Frontispiece. Map (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 12s. 6d.)
- "History of the Al bu Said Dynasty," by Rudolph Said-Ruete. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6". 23 pp. (London 1931. Pamphlet)
- "India in Bondage," by J. T. Sunderland. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xxiii+531 pp. Illustrations. (New York: Copeland. 1929)
- "India on the Brink," by a British India Merchant. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". xviii+122 pp. Sketch Map. (London: King and Son. 1931. 8s.)
- "The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930," by L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiv+310 pp. (London: Murray. 1931. 12s.)
- "Indien Kampf," by Walter Bosshard. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". x+200 pp. Illustrations. Map. (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schroder)
- "In the Arabian Desert," by Alois Musil. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiv+339 pp. Illustrations. Map. (London: Cape. 1931. 18s.)
- "The Japanese Population Problem The Coming Crisis," by W. R. Crocker. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 240 pp. (London: Allen and Unwin. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Mount Everest and its Tibetan Names," by Sir Sidney Burrard, K.C.S.I. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 18 pp. Sketch Maps. (Survey of India. 1931. 10d.)
- "The Road to the Grey Pamir," by A. L. Strong. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 280 pp. Illustrations. Sketch Map. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1931. \$3.00.)
- "Tourmente sur l'Afghanistan," by Andrée Viollis. 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 240 pp. Illustrations. (Paris: Librairie Valois. 1931. 3s.)
- "Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo," by Captain Basil Hall. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 272 pp. Illustrations. (Broadway Travellers. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "The Travels of an Alchemist," by Li Chih Ch'ang. Translated by Arthur Waley. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xi+166 pp. Map. (London: Routledge. 1931. 10s. 6d.)
- "Unveiled," by Selma Ekrem. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 277 pp. Illustrations. (London: Bles. 1931. 16s.)
- "With Mystics and Magicians in Tibet," by Alexandra David-Neel. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". xiv+320 pp. Illustrations. (London: The Bodley Head. 1931. 15s.)
- "Zanzibar: Its History and its People," by W. H. Ingrams. 9" x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". 527 pp. Illustrations. Maps. (London: Witherby. 1931. 25s.)

The Prussian State Library is anxious to buy a complete set of **CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNALS**, Vols. VII.-XVI. (1920-29). Will anyone wishing to sell please communicate with B. Said-Ruete, Esq., 36, Cheniston Gardens, W. 8.

The following articles on Asiatic subjects have appeared in the quarterlies

May

National Review "Echoes of Cawnpore," by Sir Louis Stuart, C.I.E.
"India," by the Right Hon Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

Quarterly Review "The Mandates System: Its First Decade," by Sir Alexander Wood Renton, K.C.M.G. "Mahatma Gandhi," by E. M. E. Blyth.

Fortnightly Review "Our Palestine Liabilities," by Owen Tweedy.

English Review "The Hindu Muslim Problems and the Indian Reforms," by Sir William Barton, K.C.S.I. "The Indian Crisis," by Sir Mark Hunter.

Blackwood's Magazine "Recollections of Nepal," by Lieut. Colonel R. L. Kennion. "The Only Way with Congress," by a Thirty-five Years' Resident in India.

Round Table "India: Constitution or Chaos." "China: A Brighter Outlook." "The Unrest on the Frontier."

L'Illustration "Exposition Coloniale"

June

Nineteenth Century and After "The Tragedy of India," by Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. "Manchuria: A Triangle," by Harley F. Macnair (Chicago).

Fortnightly Review "A Constitution for a Continent," by Sir John Marriott. "Chinese Characteristics," by O. M. Green.

Round Table "Economic Safeguards in India." "China." "India after the Conference"

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR RALEIGH EGERTON, K.C.B., K.C.I.E.

THE Royal Central Asian Society has lost one of its most prominent members by the death of Lieut.-General Sir Raleigh Egerton, who succumbed last month to the long and painful illness from which he suffered during the last year, and which he had fought with characteristic pluck and stubbornness.

He will be greatly missed by his fellow-members, for he had done much to further the interests of this Society during his three years' tenure of the office of Honorary Secretary; but perhaps the Officers' Families, whom he helped so much by his able administration of their Fund, will miss him still more. He worked for them up to the end, and rejoiced in placing his great experience at the disposal of those who had lost their own helpmates in the war, which he survived.

Sir Raleigh's was an outstanding personality, for he stood alone in many respects. His alert mind and retentive memory made him a wonderful companion, he seemed to have culled experiences of the past as well as of his own generation, and he had the gift of expression.

Coming of a family which was imbued with traditions of service for the Empire, he was commissioned in 1879 and soon joined the Guides Cavalry, where he found full scope for his natural bent towards horse mastership and tactics and for learning the idiosyncrasies of the Indian. Further experiences as A.D.C. to the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab and several staff appointments interspersed with regimental duty and varied with active service fitted him well for the command of the Guides, followed by that of the Ferizepore Brigade some three years before the Great War.

He accompanied the Lahore Division to France, and played an important part in the performances of the Indian Corps until the transfer of its two Divisions to Mesopotamia in the beginning of 1916.

He had already gained a reputation as a reliable and up-to-date commander, but his great opportunity came during the desperate fighting and hardships of the attempt to relieve Kut. He was then fifty-seven years of age, but he set an inspiring example of endurance and cheerfulness during the trials to which so many younger men succumbed.

He was perhaps seen at his best during the great fight at Bait-Isa, when the Turks launched a determined counter-attack against our troops as they struggled through the floods on the right bank of the Tigris. They penetrated past both flanks of his brigade headquarters, and Egerton was told he must retire. "I'm hanged if I retire before a

damned Turk!" was his rejoinder, and telling his Brigade-Major to do likewise he filled his pockets with hand grenades and proceeded phlegmatically along the lost trench bombing its inmates. His men saw him, turned, and recaptured the position, littering it with enemy dead. It was a fine act, and it came at a time when things were not going well. The story spread through the force, and all chuckled at the picture, which cheered and stimulated many a drooping spirit.

Opportunity and promotion now followed quickly. As a Divisional and then as a Corps Commander he continued to show his quality during the struggles for the passage of the Tigris above Kut, and in the final defeat and pursuit of the Turkish Army.

His knowledge of the Oriental was invaluable in the consolidation and settlement of the country. He returned home after the Armistice and retired in 1920 as a Lieutenant-General, since when he has found scope for his energy in this Society, with the Officers' Families' Fund, and on the Committee of the United Service Club, where his genial and active presence will be much missed. His first wife, Bridget Askew-Robertson, died shortly after marriage, and is buried at Marden. In 1908 he married the daughter of Sir G. R. Prescott, and leaves one son, David, following his father in the Guides, and one daughter.

E. C.

DR. EMIL TRINKLER.

Among German explorers of the younger generation none seemed more certain of a long and brilliant career than Dr. Emil Trinkler, whose tragic death the other day, due to a motor accident, was a blow to all who knew him.

Dr. Trinkler had all the gifts an explorer needs. He was still young, only thirty-five; he had a robust frame, splendid health, a winning manner, and all the grit needful for standing hardship and overcoming difficulties.

Mentally he was as well equipped as physically for the explorer's life. As a youth this career had been his dream, and he began early to fit himself for it by serious study. History, geography in its various branches, Oriental languages, the works of previous travellers were all laid under contribution: so that when his first chance of Asiatic travel came and he was sent in 1923-24 by a trading firm to Afghanistan he already showed of what metal he was made. On his return, in addition to a popular description of his experiences, *Quer durch Afghanistan nach Indien* (*Across Afghanistan to India*), he published a valuable account of the physical geography of the country, the only recent work of its kind on the subject.

To explore Central Asia was always Dr. Trinkler's ambition. The romance of the desert with its buried treasures of bygone civilizations

had fired his imagination. To follow in the steps of explorers like Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein and Von Le Coq was his dream. Its fulfilment was the expedition of 1927-28, led and organized by himself, when with his companions, de Terra and Bonshard, he explored the Takla-Makan desert.

The results of this journey, on which he lectured before the Royal Central Asian Society and the Royal Geographical Society, were warmly appreciated by the various geographical societies in Germany, and he was hailed everywhere as a worthy successor of those older explorers.

Free from self-advertisement and sensationalism, Dr. Trinkler's books reflect the character of the man. His record of this expedition, *Im Land der Stürme* (*In the Land of Storms*), is a straightforward description of his journey, never wearisome, but giving just such details as would be useful to other travellers—vivid pictures by word and brush of the scenery, accounts of the daily life in camp and on the march, mishaps and disappointments lightly touched upon, and pervading the whole the delight and joy he felt at being free to roam over these vast spaces, for the desert had cast its spell over him as it has done over others who have grown intimate with it.

The scientific results of this expedition are to appear in two volumes at the end of the year. These and the buried treasures he brought to light, now in the Bremen Museum, are a fitting monument to one who in his unassuming character, in the thoroughness of his work and the scope of his achievements in the short span of life allotted to him, deserves to rank with those Asiatic explorers to whom longer life has brought vaster opportunities.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

NOTES

EXTRACTION OF DEAD SEA SALTS.

PROGRESS REPORT OF PALESTINE POTASH, LTD.

THE following report of Mr. M. A. Novomeysky, the Managing Director, has been issued to the shareholders of Palestine Potash, Ltd.

The scheme for extraction of potash, bromine, and other salts from the waters of the Dead Sea applied by the company is based on chemical facts established by experiments carried out first in laboratories and subsequently on a small scale on the shores of the Dead Sea for a number of years since 1921. These experiments proved that the effect of the natural rapid evaporation of the Dead Sea water, which represents a concentrated solution of five different salts (i.e., common salt, potassium, magnesium, and calcium chlorides and magnesium bromide), is always to precipitate these salts in the same strictly defined order—namely, common salt, then crude potassium salt (carnallite), and finally magnesium salt—while the greater part of the bromine contents of the water remains in the final liquor.

The technical scheme worked out by this method for the production of potash and other salts provides for the following items of plant: (1) Large, open, shallow pans erected on the land bordering the sea, in which the water from the sea is rapidly evaporated through exposure to the influence of hot sun rays and winds. (2) pumps for pumping the water from the sea into the various pans. (3) plant for collecting or harvesting the precipitated salts and transporting them to the refinery. (4) pumps and pipe-lines for fresh-water supply from the Jordan for the needs of the refinery, cooling the engines, and general purposes of the undertaking. (5) potash factory or refinery for working up the crude potash salts into the final product for marketing. (6) bromine plant for extracting the bromine concentrated in the final brine and preparing it for marketing. (7) power station for driving the various pumps and apparatus in the factory and outside. To these main items of plant must be added workshops, dwellings for workmen and staff, canteens, etc.

The main part of orders for machinery and apparatus was placed in England in January, 1930, immediately following the execution of the concession agreement by the Governments of Palestine and Trans-Jordan on January 1, 1930, while the excavation work and construction of the evaporating pans and the erection of houses were simultaneously begun at the Dead Sea. On April 1 the pumping operations of the water from the Dead Sea into the pans started with the completion of the pumping station and installation of one large pump, these operations being considerably increased two months later by the installation of two more pumps. With the arrival of engines, pipes, and other machinery at the Dead Sea the erection of other items of plant—i.e., fresh-water supply, power house, workshops, etc.—was started and the greater part completed by the end of July. By that time a pan area of about 120 acres was filled with rapidly evaporating sea water and the precipitation of large quantities of common salt forming layers of a few inches thick in the pans was already in progress. The soil forming the floor of the pans has proved satisfactory from the point of view of impermeability.

Soon after the greater part of the common salt had separated out, the precipitation of crude potash salt (carnallite) began, and by the end of August a few thousand tons formed loose layers in the lower evaporating pans designed for this purpose. The collection and harvesting of this salt into piles was in progress at the beginning of October and proceeded up to the end of December. A certain amount of common salt of good quality was also collected into piles. The operation of the first working season was thus completed, having fully confirmed the results obtained by the experimental work of the preceding years and proved the possibility of manufacturing the potash from the waters of the Dead Sea by applying the sun's rays as fuel for evaporating and precipitating the chemical salts. Both quality and quantity of the crude potash salts produced, as well as the cost of production, fulfilled the company's expectations. The orders for the refining machinery and apparatus for working up the crude potash salts were executed by the end of the year.

In view of the satisfactory results of the first year's operations, the Board decided to increase the plant, so as to create a unit capable of producing up to the limits of the existing means of transportation from the Dead Sea to one of the Palestine seaports, Jaffa or Haifa. It was estimated that for the erection of additional pans, ditches, roads, etc., about three months would be required, so that the pumping operations of the second season (1931) and the filling of the pans might be started by the middle of March. The refinery will be ready in the course of 1931 in time for treating the crude salts produced in 1930 and 1931, so that by the end of the latter year the products of the undertaking—potash, as well as bromine and some common salt—may be on sale on the markets. The world prices of the commodities to be produced by the company have remained comparatively steady, notwithstanding the great world depression and fall in prices of the main industrial products.

Should the coming season's operations of the increased plant prove as satisfactory as those of the previous one under review, the question of a further increase of production and the construction of new means of communication with the Mediterranean port, Haifa, will have to be considered. It is believed that a narrow gauge railway from the Dead Sea to Bersan, the junction of the existing railway, Haifa-Damascus, will best serve the purpose. A reconnaissance survey of the line and estimate have been prepared by the company's engineers.

There was no difficulty in finding sufficient skilled and unskilled local labour from the Jewish and Arab communities of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Over 360 workmen were employed by this company at the end of the year. The relations between the two races in the workmen's camp remained all the time friendly and no incidents occurred. Housing accommodation and full board for the workmen and staff at the Dead Sea are being provided by the company at a fixed charge.

With the collaboration of the Health Department of the Palestine Government, measures were taken to make the works and camp at the Dead Sea free of malaria. As a result of the construction of dams which prevent the water from the Jordan from reaching the camp, the cleansing of swamps and springs in the vicinity, and constantly keeping the matter under observation, the works have now become not only free of malaria, but of mosquitoes generally. Not a single case of malaria has occurred in the year under review, and the health conditions generally have been very satisfactory all the year round. The supply of good drinking water and food, bathing in the sea,

and fresh-water bathing accommodation for the workmen and staff have made life at the Dead Sea altogether possible, and during the greater part of the year even comfortable, notwithstanding the great heat in the summer months. The camp is under the permanent supervision of a doctor living on the spot and the General Health Organization of Palestine (*Near East and India*, April 30, 1931)

UNIFYING BRITISH CONTROL IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SIR HENRY DORRIS LETTER TO THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH," OF JUNE 4, 1931.

"THE recent debate in the House of Lords upon Lord Trenchard's suggestion that there should be unification of control and policy in the Middle East ended disappointingly.

"The upshot of Lord Passfield's reply was that the British Government would retain in their hands the whole control of policy, but that the diversity of interests in the various countries concerned affected so many Government Departments that there would in any case have to be constant consultation between them all, and so there would be no real advantage in putting one Department nominally in charge of relations with all these countries.

COUNTRIES AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

"What are the countries concerned and the methods by which policy towards them is controlled? They are these:

"*Syria*, under a French mandate, relations with which are conducted by the Foreign Office through Paris.

"*Palatine*, under a British mandate, which will apparently be indefinitely prolonged, administered by the Colonial Office.

"*Transjordan* also under a mandate embodied in a treaty with the ruling Amir, advised by the Colonial Office.

"*Turk*, which is expected to enter the League of Nations next year as an independent kingdom, when the High Commissioner now under the Colonial Office will be replaced by an Ambassador under the Foreign Office.

"*Nejd and the Hejaz*, the main block of Arabia, under King Ibn Saud, with whom the Foreign Office maintains relations through a British Minister.

"*Independent Principalities* and chiefships fringing the Persian Gulf in the sphere of the Indian Foreign Department.

"*Aden*, which is partly a British possession and partly protected territory, controlled for internal administrative purposes by the Government of Bombay, while the Colonial Office directs its political relations with the tribes of the Protectorate and with the rest of Arabia.

"*Yemen*, bordering the Red Sea to the north of Aden, under the rule of the Imam Yahya, the great rival of Ibn Saud, who is usually approached by the Political Resident in Aden under the orders of the Colonial Office.

DREAM OF ARABIA REDIVIVA

"In all these countries Arabic is the principal language, Islam the principal religion, and in all of them the younger generation of politicians sees visions of a future vast Arabia Rediviva, holding the nerve centres of the main routes of the world by sea, land, and air, and extracting wealth from the commerce which must pour along them.

"Nor are the ideas of the young Arabs as to the geographical importance of their countries illusory. The whole trade of Asia with Europe outside Russia,

and most of its trade with America, now traverses the Red Sea ; all air routes to Asia and Australia except the Russian converge in Irak ; pipe-lines are about to be laid between the Irak oilfields and the Mediterranean to debouch at Tripoli, in Syria, and Haifa, in Palestine ; railways will accompany the pipe-lines, and will inevitably be pushed forward across Persia to India.

"The ancient primacy of these lands as the conduits of commerce, taken from them for a time by the discovery of the Cape route, is about to be fully restored. The security of their communications is of vital interest to the British Empire.

WHAT MUST BE OUR AIM ?

"In all these countries except Syria British influence has been for generations paramount, and has been greatly increased by the results of the war. It is for us to see that this influence is not diminished by any muddled plan of our relations with them, any vagueness or confusion of aim, any diplomatic clumsiness which, in their newborn thirst for independence, they will fiercely resent, and, above all, by any want of sympathy for their dreams of greatness.

"Those dreams are perhaps destined to come true, the Arabic speaking races, after years of quiescence, are again dynamic, and any nation which ignores their importance will suffer, as did the Roman and Persian Empires from their contempt for the rising power of Mohammed.

"Here, then, I venture to take issue with Lord Passfield. The sketch which I have given of our present arrangements shows the India Office and the Colonial Office intruding like alien bodies into the network of Foreign Office control. Confusion, delay, and divided aims result.

SPIRIT OF IMAGINATIVE GENEROSITY.

"Now the important point is that our policy towards this great Arab question shall be informed by a uniform spirit of imaginative generosity, which shall inspire not only the controllers at the centre of things, but also their agents on the spot, and shall prevent those small misguided impulses and sentiments which often at the very beginning of critical events deflect Imperial views from their right course.

"The angle of vision, the mental atmosphere of the Foreign, Colonial and India Offices and of those under them differ enormously, and there can be little doubt that, for the purpose of appreciating the delicacy and grandeur of the Arab problem, the Foreign Office is much superior to the other two, and superior to any possible new department which might be formed, as has been suggested, to deal with the Middle East.

"In so important a matter official prescription and susceptibilities should be ruthlessly overridden ; and the Foreign Office should be prepared to overcome its traditional distaste for administrative responsibility for the purpose of including Palestine, Transjordan, the Persian Gulf, and Aden in a wise and unified control of the whole Arab question."

Further correspondence on this subject is invited from members.

AN ORIENTAL MUSEUM FOR LONDON.

A MEETING was held at India House, Aldwych, on Wednesday, May 6, under the auspices of the India Society, to discuss the advisability of establishing a Central Museum of Oriental Art in London.

The Chair was taken by Sir Francis Younghusband, and the discussion opened by Dr. Hill, Director of the British Museum. Sir Atul Chatterjee.

High Commissioner for India, Mr. Eric MacLagan, Mr. Laurence Binyon, Sir Leslie Wilson, Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Lord Crawford, Mr. Hobson, Professor Myers, Mr. Keeling, and Sir Denison Ross were among those who took part in the discussion. The matter was left in the hands of Sir Francis Younghusband, Mr. Hill, and Mr. MacLagan, who, in consultation with other interested bodies, were empowered to form a Committee to promote the establishment of this Museum.

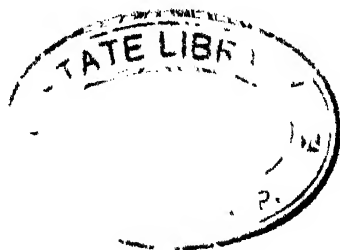
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The Synopsis and other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1.





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ACROSS THE RUB'AL KHALI

BY BERTRAM THOMAS, O.B.E.

A MEETING of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C., on Wednesday, May 20, 1931, for the purpose of hearing a lecture by Mr. Bertram Thomas on his recent crossing of the Rub'al Khali. So large was the attendance that it was impossible for all to get into the lecture-hall.

Admiral Sir HERBERT RICHMOND, in taking the chair, said: I have to express Lord Lloyd's deep regret that he has been unable to preside this afternoon: nothing but the most urgent business would have prevented his attendance. Lord Lloyd wishes me tell you that Mr. Bertram Thomas has been elected, and has accepted nomination, to the Council of the Royal Central Asian Society. (Applause.)

Mr. BERTRAM THOMAS then delivered the following lecture:

I WENT to Muscat six years ago as Wazir to the Sultan, with cherished plans of exploring South-East Arabia and, if possible, of crossing the Rub'al Khali. Except for Oman proper and the Central Province of Dhufar, the whole of Central South Arabia was unexplored. One of the reasons for such neglect has doubtless been that it is a very arid part of the country, another that its inhabitants are perhaps the most barbarous of the inhabitants of Arabia. They have never come under the authority of a ruling chief such as the Sultan of Muscat or any other of the chiefs of the coastal provinces. The country is in an anarchic condition. The people consist of nomad tribes, armed with rifles, ever at war with one another. They are fanatical in the practice of an exclusive religion, they hold life cheap, and are extremely jealous of the secrets of their water-holes and their poor pastures. In short, they do not invite intrusion. Another obstacle to penetration is the official attitude of opposition to any sort of exploration. The last traveller who seriously thought of penetrating this part of Arabia was Burton, who, eighty years ago, with the blessing of the Royal Geographical Society, laid plans for crossing this desert. When he asked the East India Company's permission it was withheld, and if I had asked for Government permission I should have been forbidden. So I preferred to relieve Government of any responsibility in the matter.

I have accomplished three camel journeys in this southern part of Arabia. My first, in 1927-28, lay through the south-eastern borderlands from Suwaih to Dhufar. In the winter of 1929-30 I made a

journey due north from Dhufar, a matter of 200 miles, to the edge of the sands and out again, after having reached Mugshin. I already had more ambitious plans, but had not the opportunity of fulfilling them. That second journey was the subject of a paper read to the Royal Geographical Society by Sir Arnold Wilson. Both those journeys were undertaken partly to fill up the blank map of South Arabia, that Burton had termed "the opprobrium to modern adventure," and partly as reconnaissances for the bigger journey across the sands. An enterprising American millionaire had, I believe, conceived the idea of hiring an airship to fly over these sands, and two years ago I was tentatively approached with a view to being a member of such an expedition. I was not sorry when those plans fell through, because the information gathered on my previous journeys led me to conclude that no positive scientific results could come from merely flying over the sea of sands. The geographical problem to solve was the structure of this part of Arabia. We did not know the system of drainage, the physical features, or geological formations. We knew nothing of the fauna, for nobody had been in a position to collect its mammals and reptiles, birds and insects. Another of the principal objects of such a journey would be to discover what races inhabited the central south, and to ascertain the distribution of the tribes. None of these objects could be accomplished by flying over this type of country, not a single name could be added to the map, nor a single fact of anthropological, zoological, or geological importance established. The only way of discovering the nature of the drainage system would be to move over the country slowly with instruments. In any case, scientific information such as I have mentioned could be collected only by one who had already acquired a fairly intimate knowledge of the language and the people.

On October 6, 1930, I disappeared from Muscat, as I had done two or three times before. Only the Heir Apparent, in the absence of his father the Sultan, shared my secret. It was necessary thus to move, because if the insular Arabs get any idea that people want to spy out their land they object, quite naturally: more, they forcibly forbid it. A small boat took me out of Muscat Harbour that midnight. At dawn a passing oil-tanker, *British Grenadier*, homeward bound, picked me up. By private arrangement she would drop me on the central south coast of Arabia. There I hoped for a camel party. To this end I had arranged with an influential member of my last expedition to be at Dhufar early in October to meet me. He could not undertake to take me across the sands in one caravan because the country is much too arid, though it may be that one could be passed from tribe to tribe, were these present and if they could be induced to co-operate. My 650-mile camel journey through the southern borderlands three years earlier had indeed been accomplished in that way.

When I landed in Dhufar I found no one there to meet me. Dhufar is rather an interesting part of Arabia. It is the Central Province of South Arabia, and is not improbably the Ophir of the Old Testament from which Solomon got his gold and frankincense. There are archaeological remains of old cities, but nothing comparable in extent or nature to the Babylonian mounds of Iraq. Here the characteristic feature is a column—a monolith—the capital, shaft and base all in one. Its square corbelled cap rather suggests that it supported arched masonry. Whether it did or not, I cannot say. The orientation of the graves in the burial grounds round about is for the most part post-Islam, but it seems probable that the building material, the column in particular, has been taken by builders from some earlier pre-Islamic building. Theodore Bent, the only other European to have penetrated the Qara Mountains, records this particular type of column in Abyssinia at a place called Aksum, and he has advanced the opinion that the builders of these ancient cities in Abyssinia must have been the builders of Dhufar too. There is thus an archaeological link between South Arabia and North-East Africa.

As the hoped-for camel party had not arrived for me, I sent a couple of Badus out into the sands for the purpose of trying to bring in another. There were many obstacles. Chief amongst them, the countryside was up. War was in the air. The great Sa'ar tribe of the Hadhramaut, the tribe at feud with the Rashid tribe who were my friends, had lately declared war; the two tribes were, in fact, hereditary enemies. The Sa'ar, a very powerful tribe, were raiding the plain which lay between Dhufar and the sands, so that my promised caravan had not dared to come in. Thus I was obliged to turn aside. The delay enabled me to continue my exploration of the mountains at the back of Dhufar, mountains (Upper Cretaceous to Eocene) rising to about 3,000 feet. The climate in this Central Province of Dhufar is unique in Arabia. The mountains are thickly afforested with trees and look rather like English woodland, though of course the vegetation is semi-tropical, including sycamores, wild figs and so on. Here, and here only in Arabia, is encountered this luxuriant vegetation which owes its existence to the south-west monsoon, three months' summer rainfall. Here is a land worthy of the ancient name Arabia Felix. It is a naturalist's paradise, and single-handed I was able to collect over 400 specimens of mammals, reptiles and insects from these Qara Mountains. I got five hyena and a wolf and four foxes; a coney and a badger; ten different snakes, including a cobra 5 feet 4 inches long—the biggest kind of snake found in Arabia; an African puff adder and a new species of colubrid; of the butterflies, three different species of *charaxes* not previously known to exist in Arabia, and one new to science; two new species of lizard, and a mantis believed to be of a new genus. The

preliminary analysis of the entire list has been prepared by the various departments of the South Kensington Natural History Museum, and will be published in the *Royal Geographical Journal* for September. A discovery of scientific interest is that these have African rather than Oriental affinities.

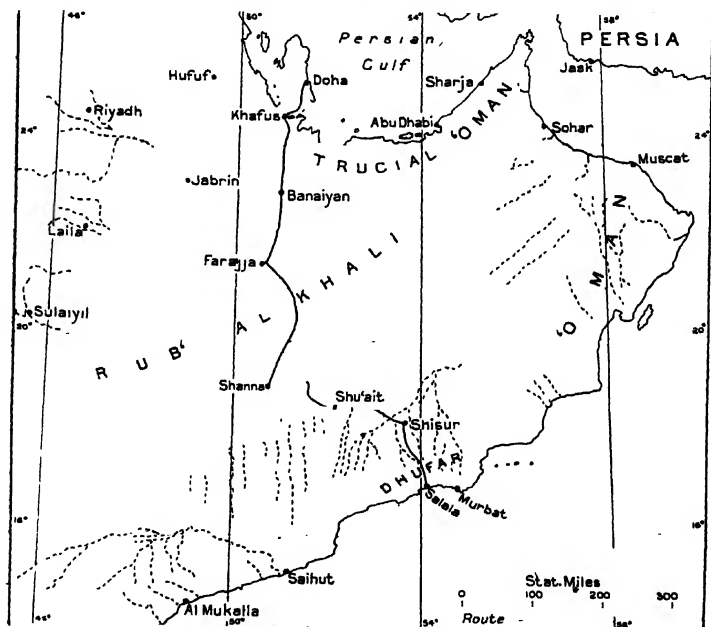
On the plain of Dhufar stand abundant coconut groves in place of the date groves usually met with on other coasts of Arabia. Beyond the Qara Mountains, just north of the divide, lie the frankincense groves at a height of about 2,350 feet. Frankincense, as you know, is the gum of the tree of that name. It was used by the Egyptians—probably imported from this part of the world—in the mummification of Pharaohs and sacred animals. It was burnt before the tabernacle of the Israelites in the days of Moses, and the hill of frankincense is mentioned in the Song of Solomon. It is used also as a form of magic. The roofs of the Qara Mountains are thick and spacious grasslands, not unlike parts of England, the grass being perennial. After the rains wild oats grow to the height of a man's waist; altogether it is a perfectly delightful country. Large herds of cows form the natives' chief means of livelihood, also the fruits of the frankincense groves.

In the frankincense country I had already made an interesting archæological discovery which I found later to have a fairly wide local distribution. It consisted of a series of trilith monuments, each composed of boulders about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high set up in triliths, three stones lying one against the other, a fourth stone sometimes being superimposed. They stand in series of five, seven, nine, eleven or fifteen triliths all laid out in one line and having no particular orientation, though they usually follow the axis of the wadi. Close by there are sacrificial piles, used possibly for animal sacrifice. They are undoubtedly pre-Islamic, and may be survivals of the ancient Sabæan Trinity—Sun-god, Moon-god and Venus. Not all the monuments are inscribed, those that are—and they are very few—I copied. The inscriptions, as yet undeciphered, seem to have been hammered on to the stone by means of some flint instrument.*

The present inhabitants of South Arabia are, however, to one who has lived in other parts of Arabia, the most interesting feature of the country. They raise an interesting anthropological problem. I have before observed, and experience on my last journey confirms me in my views, that these South Arabians are racially distinct from the Semitic type of North Arabia—i.e., the long-headed man with hawk-like features. Judging from these types of South Arabia—and there are more than one—the conclusion is irresistible that the people of the south and those of the north are not kindred races. Several non-Arabic languages survive,

* I have published details in "Among some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, January-June, 1929.

as well as other cultural and physical difficulties. Ibn Battuta 600 years ago recorded his belief that the inhabitants of the Dhufar mountains were kindred with Soudanic tribes. But even the purely Arabic-speaking tribes of the south were considered by Glaser, Burton and General Maitland, on the evidence of their experience and senses, to be racially distinct. Their chief characteristics are that they are short men, of very dark pigment, spiral head hair, and generally unable to grow more than a slight beard; have thick, though not negroid, lips. They have unusual breadth of head for such dark men, and are all



brachycephalic as distinct from the dolichocephalic northern Arab. I made forty-five head measurements with callipers of the tribes I met with in South Arabia, and I hope that Sir Arthur Keith, who has honoured us with his presence this afternoon, will one day be able to tell us more about the racial affinities of the people from the scientific point of view.

I have recorded four languages, Mahri, Shahari, Bautahari, Harsusi—the last two not, I think, hitherto recorded. Mahri and Shahari have already been recorded by a philological expedition sent for the express purpose from Vienna about thirty years ago. I do not yet know

whether the corresponding material I have recorded will differ from that collected by this expedition. The area I covered is some miles to the east of their operations. From a study of the photographs and head measurements of two groups of South Arabians, Shahari and Yafi—a tribe of the hinterland of Aden—it will be seen that they are clearly distinct from the North Arabians and from one another.

These non-Arabic-speaking tribes of the central south have curious customs. As regards circumcision, universally practised, the boy is circumcised on reaching puberty at the age of fifteen; the girl is circumcised on the day of her birth. Such customs are opposite to those observed in other parts of Arabia—Oman, for instance, where male circumcision takes place during childhood and circumcision of girls at the age of eight or nine. Adult male circumcision is probably a link with North-East Africa. The mummies from Thebes and elsewhere on examination have, in the case of adult males, been found to be circumcised, while Egyptian boys were not circumcised. Then there is a hair custom in South Arabia where you have what may be called a modification of the Horus lock. The hair is allowed to grow, in the case of the boy, down the centre of the head, rather giving a centurion's helmet effect. At circumcision this lock is removed. The girls and the women have their faces painted, red, green and black paint being used. In the case of the female child the hair is shaved in parts after the manner of a Pekinese dog, and narrow plaits fall behind. Again, the hair custom is joined up with sexual life, for when she is betrothed, which usually takes place at the age of thirteen or fourteen, the hair is allowed to grow. Within a month after marriage has taken place, a central parting nearly an inch wide is cut down the middle of the head; the whole scalp skin is removed, sometimes with fatal results, and the hair, in any case, never grows there again.

There is not time to give you a catalogue of other curious customs and animistic cults peculiar to these people. That and a summary of measurements will be published in the June-December *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.

After I had been waiting in this Central Province of Dhufar for two months, I received the good news that a camel party had arrived from the southern sands. The man who brought the caravan was Shaikh Salih bin Kalut, one of the three shaikhly brothers of the Rashid tribe. If it had not been for that man I could not even have embarked upon my journey. He came to me from the southern sands of Dakaka. These sands, in fact, were the key to the problem of my crossing this year. It was made possible as the result of the rains of last year falling there, which in turn meant that the tribes of the desert had all gravitated to the pastures of these southern sands. Thus it was that I was able to get camels brought in, and find other camels waiting there

to carry me on my journey. After having bound Shaikh Salih to secrecy, I told him what my plans were ; that I wished to cross from sea to sea. He said it was quite impossible. As a member of the Rashid tribe he could take me as far as and into the Rashid habitat, which was the southern marches of these sands, a matter of 200 miles from the coast. Beyond that he could not take me anywhere. I was rather discomfited by this news, but I realized that this man could not take me into the habitat of another tribe, and it was really a matter of luck whether, even if successfully running the Sa'ar gauntlet, I could find somebody of the other tribe, the Murra, and persuade him to take me on. Shaikh Salih promised to give me his assistance, and in that faith I embarked.

We crossed the Qara Mountains, 3,000 ft., and so into the steppe sloping imperceptibly down to the water-hole of Shisur, and beyond to the edge of the sands, about six days' march to the north, a region I had explored and mapped the previous winter. Our track followed the wadi bed, Dauka, wherein the pastures were good. The whole of the steppe to the eastward consists of a series of wadi beds occupied by various tribes, the names of which I have recorded in a map to be published in the September *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. The life in the steppe is nomadic, but the people do far better than those who live in the sands. The steppe always supports some sort of life. The people are driven back in the summer from the plains against the mountains, where there is perennial water, and during the summer the steppe tribes take refuge on the slopes of the mountains, where they can find water. There they breed camels, and in the winter they go out again into the steppe to graze. Following rains there, they hazard taking flocks of sheep with them ; but ordinarily, in the hot, dry summer, that would be impossible. In the wadi courses the steppe man lives under acacias, for he has no tents ; in the mountains he occupies caves.

I had been to Shisur the year before on my previous journey when I trekked north-eastwards along the edge of the sands and explored as far—roughly—as the twentieth line of latitude. The height here is about 960 feet. This year I was going to turn west towards Dakaka, which would allow me to explore the southern sands. It was important to do this because the aneroid readings would show whether the slope of Arabia is upwards towards the west, an important factor in determining the structure ; and also I was enabled to collect fossils along the lofty southern edge of the sands.

These sand hills are the loftiest in Arabia, in places between 600 and 700 feet high, though the average is lower. They are very soft and yielding in substance. Certainly no motor-car could cross these southern sands. From time to time my people had to dismount and scoop a way with their hands along a slope for the camels to climb to the top. At one point where the southern sands meet the steppe, the Badus pointed

out to me a great number of tracks deeply graven in the steppe, which they called the road to Ubar. These tracks led only to the edge of the sands. My companions said they had been told by their fathers that Ubar was a city buried in these sands. It is known that the sands are encroaching southwards. There is an old tradition—and I believe that the classical geographers mention it—of caravan routes from the frankincense country to Petra in Sinai and to Gerrha, an ancient caravan centre on the Persian Gulf. I think it is not unreasonable to assume that there was here in these sands an ancient city. There can be little doubt that the climate of Arabia has changed, just as has that of Europe. Arabia had no Ice Age, but when the northern latitudes of Europe were under ice, this part of Arabia must have had a very considerable rainfall. The wadi troughs beyond the mountain, by three of which I had at various times penetrated or emerged, and the limestone fossils (Middle Eocene) picked up a hundred miles to the northwards are evidence of a late pluvial period.

Another feature of the southern sands is that from time to time you meet wide patches of what appear at first sight to be residues of dried-up lakes. The specimens I brought home have been identified as gypsum. The actual cause of the formation of these gypsum patches has yet to be determined.

It was in this mountainous sand country that I met the phenomenon of Singing Sands. We were marching along one day when suddenly I heard a booming noise. I had read in Curzon's "Tales of Travel" and in other books of singing sands, but I had not been led to expect that we should meet them, so that when I heard the noise I looked up, expecting to see an aeroplane. The cause of the phenomenon is, I believe, wind blowing over the rear of a sand slope. It sets the surface of the sands moving and thus causes the bellowing. The volume of the sound was very much greater than such a cause would lead you to expect.

It was at Khor Dhahiya that I changed my camels. I had started off with forty camels, and it was necessary along this route to travel with no less than that number. On grounds of economy I would have preferred twelve, which sufficed for my journey in 1928 along the southern borderlands. On this occasion the Badus pointed out that the Sa'ar tribe, their enemies, would show them no mercy, and that they themselves would show no mercy to the Sa'ar if we met them and others weaker than ourselves. Fortunately no such event occurred, though we had many alarms. The Sa'ar tribe sometimes raids with a party of 200 or 300, so that it most certainly would have been unwise to hazard that first stage of my journey with anything less than forty men. When I reached Khor Dhahiya, within the southern limit of the sands of Dakaka, I was delighted to meet my southern caravan. Salih, the Shaikh and most influential member of my party, had gone ahead

from the Qara Mountains in order to arrange for it to be there. I was able to reduce numbers as I went along because the menace from raiders was in the south, and once we turned northwards into the sands proper towards the habitat of the main Rashid tribe that menace diminished. The second relay of camels I was able to reduce to twenty. One of the necessary points in the organization of a crossing of this kind is the matter of rations. Ordinarily these Arabs of the sands live exclusively on camel's milk, varied very occasionally by camel's meat. When one of our camels was going to die of exhaustion it was killed and eaten. That is what happens to all camels when they get old. Ordinarily if one is travelling as I was, and wishing to make quick marches over the desert, it would be impossible to use camels in milk. They are not suited to forced marches, as they quickly lose condition, so I had to take camels not in milk (except two for myself) and arrange to carry hard rations for my people. This involved organization. I took rice, flour, dates, butter. The scheme was for my original party, who started off from Dhufar, to draw and carry their own individual rations, with ten pack camels carrying bulk rations for the journeys ahead. I divided out rations in the same way when starting off on my second relay, carrying in bulk only the third relay's rations. Thus there was a progressive reduction of pack camels as we went on.

We spent nine days at Shanna. The second caravan merely took me from Khor Dhahiya to Shanna, a matter of possibly scarcely more than seventy miles. We were merely marking time at Shanna while I sent Shaikh Salih ahead to arrange a camel party which would take me across the desert. That party actually consisted of thirteen men. Shanna was the strategical point north of Dakaka; there was pasture in abundance, and we could afford to dally, so I spent eight or nine days collecting geological specimens and hunting for South Kensington Museum: further, our camels could thus get in good fettle, and time avail for a careful choice of men and beasts to attempt the dash across the desert with me. Two of these men had crossed in this longitude of the sands before. They were members of the Murra tribe; the other ten men were Rashidis who had been across the desert from other points than this one. I called Shanna a strategic point because there was plenty of pasture; to the north we should be in hunger-stricken country, and on a journey of this kind pasture is even more important than water; much more important certainly in winter time, when a camel can go for quite long periods without water. In summer a camel has to be watered every other day. From Shisur to Dakaka we were nine days without water, the camels carrying full loads. At the end of those nine days they were completely done up and could not have gone on. That was the position in which I found myself last year, when I was obliged to turn back because my camels had lost condition and the

Bedawin were unwilling to take them into the sands. They said it would be suicide. On this occasion Dakaka had received rain the previous year, and thither the herds had therefore gravitated. But we could not afford to delay after leaving Shanna. The only vegetation north of Shanna is a saline shrub called *hadh* (*Salsola* sp.). Camels cannot live on it when carrying loads or getting infrequent watering. We were in the position of having to make forced marches, but our camels were in prime condition and everybody was fit. Incidentally, of course, nobody could afford to drop out. It would have been tragic if we had lost a camel or two, and I don't like to think of what would have happened if the guide had fallen ill. It was essential, once we left Shanna, to move quickly. I estimated that I had a margin of about nine days' rations, but that was all.

After leaving Dakaka the first sands reached are not very formidable. In the south they are mountainous dunes, but here the sands of Suwahib consist of parallel ridges with gentle bellying sand between, a type that corresponds to the Dahana, I understand. Very arid country it was, and obliged us to spend eight or nine hours in the saddle each day. It would have been unreasonable, if not impossible, to halt in the middle of the day for luncheon. The best course for me was to keep on good terms with my Badus, and the only time they want to halt is for prayer or when they come upon vegetation for their camels. I carried with me a flask of camel's milk, filled up each morning. Though only two camels were in milk, all were cow camels, for in Arabia the cow and not the bull is generally ridden, as the cow is held to have gentler movements.

We came upon a small encampment of Murra at Gusman. The Murra tribe occupies the oases of Jabrin and Jafurah. They are thus not a tribe of South Arabia, but belong to the north, and faced with my objective it was very necessary to get one of their number to guide and protect amongst themselves. Here I was fortunate in securing a rather famous *rabia* amongst them, Hamad the Murri. The life of the sand Arabs consists of moving from pasture to pasture. On finding a favoured spot they eat up whatever verdure is there and so pass on to the next in unending cycle. Water in these central sands is comparatively plentiful. One of the illusions that we suffered from was that there was no water at all in these central sands. Westwards of my route there is, I believe, no water. To the eastwards is water in plenty, but water so brackish as to be almost, and in parts absolutely, undrinkable; in fact, in some places even the camels cannot drink it. These people are thus really parasites of the camel, and drive their camels from pasture to pasture as far as possible, relying on water which camels will drink, but which they themselves cannot drink. I brought back specimens from all the water holes that we drank from.

They show a very high salt content. The water was in places the colour of beer, but tasted strongly of salt and sulphuretted hydrogen. It had the effect on me of Epsom salts, and I only drank it when I had to. The Badus seem to drink it with no complaint of ill-effects.

In these central sands I dug out a rather interesting sand-coloured fox with large bat-like ears, a handsome creature, and a new species of fennec. Though only about the size of a cat, he was full-grown, as indicated by skull and teeth. Foxes were comparatively plentiful, which shows that they do not need to drink, for there is no surface water here. The chief and commonest of the mammals was the hare, seen all the way along the line of march, of which I collected five specimens. Three different sand snakes were brought home. The Rashid tribe to the south have no *salugi* dogs; they do not go in for hunting; but the Murra tribe do, their chief quarry being the fox, the hare, and the *rim* (white gazelle). The red gazelle is not an inhabitant of the sands, but of the steppe, in common with the ostrich, now fast becoming extinct. The white gazelle is not very common, and I did not see it at all, though I saw one or two specimens of desiccating horns, characteristic lyre-shaped horns, lying about in the sands, and each of my Badus had shot *rim* in bygone years. The Murra also hunt and eat the wild cat.

I found an eagle's nest on an *abal* tree about 4 feet high, the biggest tree one sees in the sands. The eagle I did not see, but the two eggs I brought home—now in South Kensington Museum—are probably those of the Abyssinian tawny eagle. The birds one saw most of in the desert were the black fantailed raven, met with in ones and twos, and the greater bustard, whose tracks were everywhere. There was also a bird that looked rather like a pied-wagtail, perhaps some form of desert chat. We met curlew coming out of the sands in the north, but not in them. Tracks of birds, animals, and men are clearly left imprinted in the surface of the sands. The Badus have an uncanny way of reading them. They know exactly who and what has passed; they can tell from the footmarks the age of them, whether a camel is in good condition or not, and often know whose camel it was that passed—for instance, yesterday—certainly if it belongs to their own tribe. They can tell if a camel is gone with calf, and, if so, how far. Most of the animals collected were tracked by means of their imprints in the sands, which disclosed their hiding-places.

On the march again we came to the central region called Sanam. Here were fairly flattish sands, and riding along for eight or nine hours a day was not so monotonous as might be supposed. To make a compass traverse involves looking at the watch every ten minutes, and taking compass bearings of all the water holes and recording them. At night I had to take star sights. I took with me three chronometers, a

sextant, and an artificial horizon, and was able to get my latitudes most nights and so adjust my marches on the map.

Hamad, the Murri guide, knew more or less where the pastures were, and if we had not had a line of pastures we could not have gone on; in fact, when I started from Dhufar I did not know where, if at any point, I was coming out; one never does in sands of this kind. One can only follow pastures. If they were to the north-east I should with luck have come out at Abu Dhabi; if to the west, in the neighbourhood of Riyadh; if there had been none I should have been obliged to turn back. Luckily I came out exactly where I could have most desired, for by good fortune the line of pastures led me through the heart of the sands. Hamad was a good fellow, extraordinarily cheerful, as all these people are. He wanted to know why my gums were not tattooed, because the South Arabian male tattoos his gums to arrest the growth of his teeth. Did I like ladies to have long teeth? "Why," I enquired, "should ladies have long teeth?" "Because," he replied, "if they have long teeth they eat more, and if they eat more they grow plump." I was afraid to tell him that we in this country are not all in favour of plumpness: nor would he have believed me!

We were now approaching the northern end of Sanam. The aneroid had fallen from 960 feet on the edge of the sands in the south to 500 feet in the middle, here we were some 160 feet above sea level. The sooner we could get out of these hungry marches of Sanam the better we would be pleased. The man in the north gets his water from holes about 17 fathoms deep. In the south when we watered in shallow holes we filled them up in order to obstruct possible pursuers—raiders. But in the north, where great labour has gone in the making of these deep water holes, you cannot afford to do that. *Tuwal*, as this deep kind are called, are covered over and the Badus pass on. Dangerous to make and to clean, the only material for revetment is the branch and root of some pigmy desert bush which is often quite inadequate, so that the sides are prone to slip in and entomb those mining the wells.

The water hole at Banaiyan represents the northern edge of Ar Rimal. True there are sands north of that point, but the great sands proper lie to the south. North of Banaiyan it is possible to have settlements, and the Ikhwan or Puritans are to be found living there. I wanted to avoid collisions with these people because they take rather an intolerant view of other people's religion. My companions were members of orthodox branches of Sunni Islam, the Shafi' and Hanbali sects, and they were terribly frightened of meeting the Ikhwan, and with good reason. The Ikhwan take the view that Badus are heretics. One of the religious rules of Islam is that the bodily functions, including sexual intercourse, must be followed by ablution, because prayer without ablution is of no avail. The Badawin tribes in the south, who

they move away from water holes for six weeks and two months at a time in winter, cannot observe this religious rule, so that the Beduwan of the north regard them as heretics, and treat them in much the same way that Roman Catholics and Protestants treated each other in Tudor times in our own country.

Danaiyan represents the junction of three big regions: Jiban to the north, Sanam to the south, and Jaub to the west. Jaub is falling from Jabrin, and the fall is from west to east. It is, I think, true to say that throughout my journey the sands were falling away towards the east and rising to the west. To the north of Jabrin I came to an interesting salt lake about seven miles long and one and a half miles wide, surrounded by heavy deposits of rock-salt. The whole of the region to the north of the lake consisted of salt plains. I was carrying two aneroids, one of which did not survive the north winds and heavy sandstorms we encountered towards the end. The one with the correct reading showed that this northern part of the Jabrin is about 70 feet below sea level.

To turn back. The geographical problem of this part of Arabia was to ascertain its structure. The whole of the map, too, had been a blank. My journeys have provided explanation of one and remedy for the other. As regards the slope of Arabia, it is, in this longitude where I crossed it, falling from south to north: 3,000 feet at the Qara Mountains, it measures 1,000 feet at the edge of the sands 100 miles to the north. Some 500 miles north of that you come to below sea level, reaching into the base of the Qatar peninsula. The eastern perimeter of the sands is in marked contrast. It falls from north to south. I crossed from Sofar to Sharja in 1926 when we were looking for landing-grounds in connection with a possible alternative air route for Imperial Airways. At the edge of the sands there we found a height of 1,500 feet. West of Ibrn it would appear likely to be about 1,100 feet. Mugshin, which I reached on my previous journey, was 490 feet. These opposing slopes, only 300 miles apart, rather suggest a low depression in the neighbourhood of longitude 54-55°, latitude 20-22°. East of that depression the slope of Southern Arabia is upwards to the north-east; west of the depression it is rising to the south-west.

After leaving the lake our journey lay through the barren country at the base of the Qatar peninsula. It was a desolate spot, and what the wolf, whose cry we heard, lived on was not obvious. It was but four days' march to Qatar; they were miserable days of cold north wind and drizzling rain. As there was no firewood we could only use camel dung for fuel. Sleeping out in the rain for I was obliged to travel without a tent throughout my journey from consideration of transport, was not comfortable, though it did not affect my health; in fact, I enjoyed perfect health throughout my fifty-eight days' journey, during which I

covered between 800 and 900 miles, though I lost $1\frac{1}{2}$ stone in weight.

It was the hour to celebrate. Before me was the palatial residence of the Shaikh of Qatar, and the promise of security and Arab hospitality after the hungry, thirsty, nervous months in the desert. It lay on the edge of the Persian Gulf, a token that I had crossed from sea to sea, and with me were these good companions without whom I could not have crossed the Rub'al Khali.

Sir ARNOLD WILSON. Mr. Bertram Thomas began his career in Mesopotamia; after some six years there he went to Transjordan, where he occupied a very responsible position in the administration of that country. He was transferred thence to Muscat and Oman. He has therefore had the experience, which I believe to be quite unique amongst European explorers, of having had a prolonged period of residence in three very different parts of the Arabian continent; to that experience he owes something, but only a little, of the qualities which have enabled him to perform his extraordinarily bold and daring feat. He has told of it with a modesty which is not uncommon amongst men who have done great things, but is sufficiently rare to be exceedingly attractive.

The second point I should like to make is that it would have been quite impossible to have achieved what he has by any other means. The motor-car, the aeroplane, the airship, and all the various modern means of avoiding trouble would have given us no information of any value whatever to science. What we want to know was who lived in the country; what they do, what animals were to be found there; what the aneroid heights were; what the geological structure of the country was, and information of these things could not have been learned as the result of a rapid journey by air. Mr. Bertram Thomas has made the journey not, as has been said, in the "orthodox, old-fashioned" manner, but in the only possible manner which would enable us to hear what we have tonight of scientific matters of real scientific interest.

Thirdly, Mr. Thomas has united in his person a number of functions which would do any man credit. He is a competent geographer who has taken a series of almost daily observations with a sextant which have enabled him to fix his position day by day with an accuracy which would satisfy the commander of a ship on the high seas. He is a philologist who has been at pains during the past five years to record the languages of the almost completely unknown people amongst whom he has lived, and has brought home no less than four new dialects, the very existence of which was scarcely suspected a few years ago. He is an anthropologist who has done what I fancy no European

has dared yet to do in Arabia—namely, to take the measurements of the skulls of casual acquaintances! It needed a very bold man and also a man with quite exceptional capacity to make friends to meet a man casually and say, "Do you mind me measuring your head?" The most sophisticated Badu might well be suspicious of anybody who did that, but Mr. Thomas has done it to some fifty men, and the results, as Sir Arthur Keith has assured me, are of exceptional interest. He is a zoologist who has brought home for the benefit of the Entomological Institute of South Kensington a whole series of new insects and a number of types new to science. It will be possible, with the assistance of this new material, and with the mammals, reptiles, and other things he has brought, to delimit with greater accuracy than hitherto the spheres of the palaearctic and of the African fauna. Mr. Thomas is also something of a geologist; indeed, he has brought home specimens of practically everything to be found in that part of Arabia except Arabs and unicorns. As you probably know, a fable of Arabia tells that the only way in which to catch a unicorn is to send into the desert a chaste virgin. On seeing her the unicorn will lay its head in her lap and suffer itself to receive—as who would not?—the caresses that we know have tamed not only the unicorn but others. We have not sent a virgin into the desert of Arabia, but a bachelor. He has failed to identify the unicorn, but practically every other beast has fallen to his collection and to those of the Arabs who have been at pains to collect things for him.

Mr. Thomas has many merits. I will not detain you further by any reference to them, nor would I wish to raise a crimson blush on his face by a formal encomium. I have known him since 1916, in very tight places and in very difficult circumstances. I recognized him from the first as the possessor of qualities which have enabled him to acquire very exceptional power and influence among Arabs. To these qualities he owes, throughout Oman, from Musandam to Dhufar, a reputation which has not been surpassed by any Englishman who has lived and worked in Arabia in my lifetime. We have every reason to be proud that this country can still produce men of this type, and that they can, when duty demands or the spirit of adventure calls, perform such journeys on their own initiative and resources and bring them to a completely successful conclusion.

SIR ARTHUR KEITH: I would only say just one word. The observations on South Arabians which Mr. Bertram Thomas has brought home are of the very highest importance in establishing the races of mankind; but I hardly think at this late hour it would be fair to him, or even fair to myself, to open up the many important problems which he has given us to solve. Therefore, with your permission, I postpone the discussion to some other day.

The CHAIRMAN : I think I can do no better now than invite you to thank Mr. Thomas for his address. You do not require any remarks from me. Good wine needs no bush. I ask you, therefore, to record in the usual way your very grateful thanks to Mr. Thomas and congratulations to him both on his journey and on the description he has given us.

The vote of thanks having been accorded amid hearty acclamation, the proceedings terminated.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN SAIYDAH ARWĀ THE ŠULAIHĪD OF THE YEMEN*

By DR. HUSAIN F. AL-HAMDĀNĪ, M.A., PH.D.

I

IT is a great honour for me to have this opportunity of relating to you the story of the life and times of the Great Queen of Arabia. When

I was asked to speak of the Yemen to this Society, I wondered at first if any subject connected with the history of that country would be of sufficient importance to enlist your interest and sympathies. I thought, however, that in these days of universal suffrage, I could not find anything more appropriate than the life and times of one of the most outstanding figures in the chronicles of Woman in the East.

When the average European hears of Arabian women, he pictures them as veiled, suffering from absolute ignorance and misery and bound in the chains of slavery to their mankind. But as we turn the earlier pages of Arab and Islamic history, we find many examples of extraordinary women, sharing equal rights with men, even exercising sovereignty over them. Not to religion, but to custom, tradition, and in some ways to the jealousy of Man does Woman in the Yemen and other Eastern countries owe her present condition of subordination. It is remarkable, however, that at a time when Europe was in the rigid grip of the darkness of the Middle Ages there should have ruled in the Yemen a woman of such unique abilities as would challenge comparison with any other great historical personality.

In the course of my investigations into the history of the Sulaihid dynasty of the Yemen, my best and by far my most important source of information for that history has been 'Umārat u'l-Yamanī (died in 569 A.H.—1178 A.D.). His history of the Yemen is translated into English and edited by H. C. Kay.† There are short accounts and fleeting references about the dynasty scattered all over various Arabic works of

* This is the full text of a lecture delivered to the Royal Central Asian Society, on Wednesday, April 29, 1931, Major-General Sir Percy Cox, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

† "Yaman: Its Early Medieval History." London, 1892.

history, but 'Umāra's is the most detailed and authentic version. 'Umāra, however, was not a great historian, as we understand the term; he wrote this historical account of a period immediately preceding his times for his own intellectual pleasure and because he was invited to write the history of his land. In the literature of the Ismā'īlis of the Yemen, hitherto unknown to the learned world of Europe, we have, however, another important source of the history of the Yemen under the Ṣulaiḥids. Throughout all these centuries the Ismā'īlis of the Yemen have formed a secret organization which has concealed its literature and doctrine from the outer world. This literature includes historical works which throw much light on the trend of Ismā'īli thought and activities carried on by the Sulaiḥids. These archives reveal the fact that the Sulaiḥids were a great link in the history of the Ismā'īli community in the Yemen.

Before coming to the subject proper to this afternoon's discourse, it is necessary to recapitulate the outstanding events of the Ṣulaiḥid rule prior to the reign of the Queen Saiyidah Arwā. The Sulaiḥids were a branch of the Ḥāshid section of the great Hamdāni tribe which consistently upheld the Shī'ite doctrine throughout Islamic times in the Yemen. After the death of the Dā'i-Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ḥaughab, the Conqueror of Yemen (مصور اليمن), and of the Dā'i 'Alī, son of Faḍl, the Ismā'īli power became practically non-existent, but the religious activities were persistently, though secretly, carried on by missionary (Dā'i) after missionary until the death of the Dā'i Sulaimān b. 'Abdullāh i'z-Zawāḥi. The last-named saw in 'Alī, son of the jurist Muḥammad the Ṣulaiḥid, signs of greatness, and nominated him to the leadership of the Mission.† The young 'Alī became a zealous and ardent supporter of the claims of the Faṭimid Khalīfas of Egypt to be overlords of the Islamic world. In the year 428 A.H. (1036 A.D.) he made a solemn covenant with sixty men, composed of his own and other Hamdāni tribes, to stand by one another unto death in support of his work as promulgator (Dā'i) of the Ismā'īli doctrine. In the following year 'Alī raised his standard on the summit of Masār in Ḥarāz. At first he naturally met with active hostility from all sides. By sheer force of his able generalship, diplomatic resourcefulness and unflinching devotion to his cause, however, he was able to overcome all opposition. Before the end of 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.) he had subjected the whole of the Yemen to his authority, and on behalf of the Faṭimid Imām al-Mustaḥsir had proclaimed the Ismā'īli doctrine throughout the length and breadth of the land. He made his power felt in places as far apart as Mecca and Ḥaḍramaut—both lying outside his jurisdiction. In 455 A.H. (1063 A.D.)

* According to al-Janādī, the Qarmaṭian dominion in the Yemen came to an end in 304 A.H. (A.D. 916). See Kay, p. 242.

† See 'Umāra, p. 19; Dā'i Idris, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār* VII. p. 2.

he established order and peace in Mecca,* and as a consequence the Public Sermon was officially read in the Holy City in the name of the Fatimids of Egypt. These were achievements worthy of any great conqueror.

The Sulaihids seem to be singularly fortunate in having had two distinguished women who exercised great influence not only on the careers of their husbands, but also in public affairs and the administration of the country. One of them was Asmā, wife of 'Alī. 'Umāra relates an anecdote about 'Alī's marriage with Asmā. "Near the gates of Zabīd," says 'Umāra,† "within the walls was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Qā'id Faraj u's-Sahrati, a man of benevolence and of exceeding charity. Whoever entered his mosque, he welcomed and entertained. His thoughts were always concerned with his guests, and he was in the habit of entering the mosque and of making private enquiries respecting them without the knowledge of his agents and servants. He went forth one night and found in the mosque a person occupied in reading the Qur'ān. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following verses of the great poet al-Mutanabbī:

من علم الاسود المحبى مكرمة اقوامه الص اواناؤه الصيد

"Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous deeds—

His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers?"

The Abyssinian took the young man with him. He led him to the chief room of his house, and treated him with the most liberal hospitality. He asked his guest the reason of his journey to the Lower Yemen, to which 'Alī replied that he had an uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty and none in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but the Hamdāni Kings of Ṣan'ā or to the Kings of the Family of the Banī Kurandū. The parents, in short, wished to exact a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. . . . The Abyssinian supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount actually paid by 'Alī. The bride and bridegroom were equipped on a scale such as kings strive to provide when allying themselves with women of the most noble lineage. . . . Asmā was of a generous and noble disposition, liberal in the rewards she bestowed upon poets and in the large sums she granted in furtherance of the service of God, and

* Ibn u'l-Athīr, IX, X, 422-3, 19-38; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient*, II, 532; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Mecca*, I, 61-62.

† Pp. 21-22.

always occupied in acts of benevolence and other deeds in keeping with her exalted station and her high purpose in life. The renown of her splendid virtues extended even to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. In an ode, which commences with the words:

حشمت بياض الوابل حشما

"The fair beauty, who is generous as the rain cloud, hath bestowed gifts."

a poet of 'Alī's court spoke of her in these words:

وَأَمَّ فِي السَّمَاحِ سُنَّةُ جُودٍ لَمْ تَدَعِ مِنْ مَعَالِمِ الْخَلِّ رَسْمًا
قَلَّتْ إِذْ عَظُمُوا بِقَيْسٍ عَرِشًا دَسَّتْ أَسْمَاءُ مِنْ ذُرَى النِّجْمِ أَسْمًا

"She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity.
Of meanness she allows no trace to appear."

"I say, when people magnified the throne of Bilqīs,
Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars."

In the year 473 A.H. (1080 A.D.) 'Alī, at the head of an expedition,* including allied and vanquished princes, started for Mecca on a pilgrimage, but on his way there he was assassinated by Sa'īd, in revenge for the murder of his father, Najāh, the murdered prince of Zabīd. The Queen Asmā and other women of the royal house, who were accompanying 'Alī, were taken prisoner and sent to Zabīd. These women were confined in a house opposite the spot where the heads of 'Alī and his brother were displayed. The Queen Asmā, however, contrived to send a letter to her son Aḥmad u'l-Mukarram, appealing to him to vindicate the honour of his tribe. Thus impelled, al-Mukarram marched against the Abyssinians and defeated them.

The first warrior to reach the spot where the two heads were set up, and to stand below the casement of the captive Queen-mother, was her son Aḥmad. She did not recognize him, as his face was hidden by his helmet. He greeted her: "May Allāh safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady!"

"Welcome," she said, "O noble Arab!"

Aḥmad's two companions saluted her in similar manner. She

* Idris, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, VII, 88, gives 459 A.H. as the date of this expedition and death of 'Alī, which confirms al-Khazrajī and Ibn u'l-At̄ir (X, 38). 'Umāra gives (p. 30) two dates: 473 A.H. and 459 A.H., but again, on p. 82, gives 473 A.H., in which he is supported by Ibn Khallikān and al-Janādī. Kay is of opinion that the death of 'Alī occurred in 473 A.H., "but the error, it may be, proceeds from the confusion of an earlier expedition to Mecca with that projected in 473 A.H." As against this, Idris, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, gives a letter of al-Mustansir, which is dated 468 A.H., and is addressed to al-Mukarram and the Queen Saliyda. 'Umāra and al-Janādī being much earlier authorities on the subject, I have used their versions.

asked him who he was, and he answered that his name was Ahmad, son of 'Alī.

"Verily the name of Ahmad, son of 'Alī," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee."

Ahmad raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed:

"Welcome, our lord al-Mukarram! He whose coming is like unto thy coming hath not tarried, neither hath he erred."

She then asked him for the names of his two comrades-in-arms, and on one bestowed a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year and on the other two fortresses. The army entered the town by detachments, while she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. During her husband's life the Queen was always seen unveiled—a sign of her rank which exalted her over men. The Queen Asmā assisted her son as she had assisted her husband in the administration of State affairs up to the time of her death.

II

After the death of his mother, al-Mukarram was helped by his wife the Queen Saiyida Arwā in the performance of his State duties. The King honoured the counsel of his wife and had great faith in her shrewdness and intelligence.

Arwā, who received another distinguished appellation—viz., "Saiyidah"—was born in 440 A.H.* (1045 A.D.). She was the daughter of Ahmad b. Ja'far. Her mother, ar-Radāh, being widowed by the death of her husband Ahmad b. Ja'far, married 'Amir b. Sulaimān i'z-Zawāhi. Queen Asmā, her mother-in-law, had supervised her early education. It is related, says 'Umāra, that one day Saiyidah told Asmā that she had dreamt that she held in her hand a broom with which she swept the King's Palace. "It is as though I had shared my vision," exclaimed Asmā. "By Allāh! O fair of face, thou shalt sweep away the dynasty of the Sulayhids and thou shalt rule over their kingdom."

In her personal appearance, Saiyida was of fair complexion tinged with red, tall, well-proportioned, but inclined to stoutness, perfect in beauty of feature, with a clear-sounding voice. She was well-read and, in addition to the gift of writing, possessed a retentive memory stored with the chronology of past times. Nothing could surpass the inter-linear glosses, upon both verbal construction and interpretation, inserted in her own handwriting in the pages of books that she had read.

Our Queen was decidedly a woman of high literary calibre. But unfortunately we have no evidence to show that she herself ever wrote

* 'Umāra gives 440 A.H., but Kay (p. 38) suggests 444 A.H.; Idris, *Uyūn al-Akbar*, also gives 440 A.H. on the authority of *Kitāb al-Mufaḍḍal* (a book which does not now exist).

any original works. The *Da'i Idris 'Imād u'd-dīn** (died 872 A.H.—1488 A.D.) reproduces lectures of the Fatimid Khalifa al-Āmir billāh, in which the latter upholds the claims of his father al-Musta'li to the Khilāfat and Imāmat against those of Nizār. These lectures were preserved for the Queen on silk parchment, and her royal seal was set upon it. Idris says that he himself copied these lectures from this parchment. "She was a woman," he comments, "of great piety, integrity, and excellence, perfect intelligence and erudition, surpassing men even and how much more women with no thought beyond the four walls of their own chambers! She deserved the eulogy of the poet who said :

وما الأيـت لاسـم الشـمس عيـاً ولا التذكير محـراً للـهلال

"Femininity is no defect in the name of the Sun ;

Nor does the masculine gender of the word 'crescent' add any laurels to it."

'Alī treated Saiyida in her earlier years with a degree of deference he showed to no other person. "Show her respect," he used to say to Asmā; "by Allāh, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whomsoever will endure of our dynasty."

Al-Mukarram married her when she was twenty-one years old in 461 A.H. (1068 A.D.) during the lifetime of his father 'Alī.

The effects of facial paralysis, which al-Mukarram had contracted during the successful close of his campaign against the Abyssinians of Zabīd, soon became manifest, and, counselled by his wife, he retired to the town of *Dhū Jublā*. She begged to be given her personal freedom and to have liberty to attend to the task on which she was engaged, saying that a woman who was desired for the marriage-bed only could not be fit for the business of the State. She first rode from *Ṣan'ā* at the head of a large army to inspect *Dhū Jublā*, the future residence of her royal husband. On her return to *Ṣan'ā*, she said to al-Mukarram : "O our lord! send for the people of *Ṣan'ā* to assemble." When the citizens of *Ṣan'ā* had assembled, he looked from the *Ghumdān Palace* upon that vast mass of humanity and nought met his eyes but the lightning-flashes of drawn swords and lance-heads. On going to *Dhū Jublā*, she desired her husband to assemble its people and the dwellers in the neighbourhood. They gathered together on the morning of the following day, whereupon she said : "Look down, my lord, and behold these people." He did so, and his eyes fell on men carrying rams or bearing vessels filled with butter and honey. "Life among these (industrious) people," she said to her husband, "is to be preferred." The King removed his court to his summer residence *Dhū Jublā*, and built there a second royal palace with gardens overlooking the two

* *'Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, VII, 122.

streams (an-Nahrain) and the original Palace. The Queen, however, ordered the latter to be consecrated as a Cathedral mosque. This action marks the foundation of that famous mosque where she was eventually to be laid to rest. She thus assigned to her husband his domestic rôle, while she energetically took up the responsibilities of running the State in the troubled times that synchronized with her rulership.

Imrān b. Faḍl i'l-Yāmi and Abu's-Su'ūd, son of As'ad b. Shihāb, whom the King had appointed to the governorship of Ṣan'ā, continued as her chief counsellors.*

One of her first acts was to put down ruthlessly all hostile elements in the country. She determined to avenge the foul murder of 'Alī by punishing his assassin, Sa'id, "the Squinting." She wrote to her ally, al-Ḥusain b. at-Tubba'i, the Prince of aḡh-Sha'ir, to represent to Sa'id that her husband was afflicted by paralysis, and that the State was ruled by his wife. In accordance with the Saiyida's military stratagem, al-Ḥusain further suggested a joint attack upon Dhū Jublā by Sa'id from the Lower Yemen and by al-Ḥusain himself from the mountains. "If you approve of my advice," said al-Ḥusain, "let it be acted upon. For your rule," he continued, "is better in the eyes of the Muslims than the rule of these heretics." Sa'id fell into the trap and, on the day appointed by al-Ḥusain, set forth from Zabīd for Dhū Jublā at the head of 30,000 spearmen. The Queen had meanwhile sent orders to her governors at Ṣan'ā to proceed with 3,000 horsemen to the Lower Yemen, and to keep in the rear of the Sa'id's army and follow him stage by stage. Sa'id, however, halted below the fortress of aḡh-Sha'ir, when the two flanks of the Saiyida's army fell upon him and crushed his forces. Sa'id himself was killed and his head hung below the window of the palace Dār u'l-'Izz.

While the Queen was occupied with warfare and the administration of the State, her husband, al-Mukarram, died at Dhū Jublā.[†] The Saiyidah concealed this fact till she had communicated with and had received from her spiritual master at Cairo a letter appointing her son 'Alī‡ in his father's place. As her son 'Alī was a minor, the Saiyidah appointed Sabā, son of Ahmad, to act as the head of the State under her. Both sons of the Queen,§ however, died during her lifetime, and

* Idrīs, *Uyūn u'l-Akhbār*, VII, 122.

† Historians suggest various dates for the death of al-Mukarram. 'Umāra gives 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.); al-Janadī says that al-Mukarram died in 484 A.H., or 480 A.H., or 479 A.H. The Dā'ī Idrīs gives the date as 477 A.H. (1084 A.D.).

‡ Surnamed 'Abd u'l-Mustanṣir, after the name of the Fatimid Khalīfa al-Mustanṣir billāh.

§ The Queen had four children: 'Alī, Muḥammad, Faṭīma and Umm Hamdān. Muḥammad died during the life of his brother; Faṭīma married Shams u'l-Ma'ālī, son of her premier Saba b. Ahmad. Umm Hamdān was married to Ahmad, son of Sulaimān i'z-Zawāḥī.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF QUEEN SAIYDAH ARWA

III

After having dealt so far with the administration of the State under the Queen, and having given some indication of her political qualities, let us now turn to her religious activities. It should be remembered that the Ṣulaihid power in the Yemen aimed at establishing a hierarchy similar to that existing in Egypt. The Ṣulaihid hierarchy was based and organized on the same lines as the Fāṭimid hierarchy in Egypt. The administration of State affairs was separate from that of the Dā'wat (mission). This dual form of government was carried out by chiefs appointed for special purposes. The Ṣulaihids enjoyed a full measure of independence of the central government in Egypt, but they always faithfully held themselves responsible to the central organizations over which the Imām had the final word.

The Fāṭimid Imām al-Mustansir billāh gave both functions, temporal and spiritual, into the charge of the Queen. He also entrusted the mission of India and Sind to her care and leadership. In her turn she appointed the Dā'i Lamak, son of Mālik, as the chief of the Church. After the death of Lamak, the office of the Dā'i was given to his son Yahya.

The Dā'i Idrīs gives in his book the correspondence of great historical interest that passed between the Ṣulaihids, particularly the Queen Saiyida of the Yemen on the one side and the Fāṭimids of Egypt on the other. The Fāṭimid al-Āmir billāh, perceiving the chaos and anarchy in his empire, sent state papers and an old tattered handkerchief with his ambassador, Sharif Muḥammad b. Haidarah, to be delivered to the Queen. When the Queen saw the handkerchief tears rolled down her cheeks, for she recognized the secret sign denoting the imminent danger of the collapse of the Fāṭimid Empire and the subsequent disappearance of the Imām from the public gaze. Among the papers there was a letter,* in which the al-Āmir gave the tidings of the birth of Ṭaiyib and the appointment of the new-born child to the Imāmat. In the event of the Imām's concealment, the Queen was ordered to carry on the mission on behalf of the Imām in the Yemen, India, and Sind.

The Queen's fears were only too soon to be justified, for a band of Nizārid conspirators pierced al-Āmir with knives while he was attending a military procession in Cairo, and his son Ṭaiyib was carried away in concealment by the missionaries appointed by al-Āmir. Thus ended the Fāṭimid Khilāfat in Egypt for the followers of Musta'li.

The Queen propagated the mission in the Yemen on behalf of Ṭaiyib, but the Ismā'ili mission which upheld the claims of Musta'li and his sons became defunct in Egypt. The assassination of al-Āmir,

* This letter has been reproduced by 'Umāra (ed. Kay, p. 136) *in toto*, and his version agrees with the version given by Idrīs.

THE SULTAN OF THE YEMEN

like the tragedy of Karbalā, gave greater stimulus to the Ismā'īlis in the Yemen to promulgate the creed on behalf of the progeny of al-Amīr. It brought the Period of Publicity (Zuhūr) to its close and ushered in the Period of Concealment (Satar). The Queen Saiyidah separated the functions of the Mission even more rigidly from State affairs. The Mission was thenceforth called the Ṭaiyibī Da'wat (الذاعي المطابق). The Queen appointed the Dā'ī Dhuaib, son of Mūsā 'l-Wadī'ī, to be the first missionary (الدعوة الأولى) on behalf of the concealed Imām. Thus, for the first time, the Yemen under the Sulaihids, both in the matters of the Church and State, severed its connection, feeble as that connection had been, with the Fāṭimids of Egypt under 'Abd u'l-Majīd.

The story of the events of her reign in the Yemen—her prowess, her statesmanlike measures, her military stratagems and skill, her riches and the magnificence of her court—is of great value to the historian, but her greatest achievement was one which lives even at the present day, and that was the establishment of the Ismā'īlī Ṭaiyibī Mission. Being separated from the State, the tenets of this faith were promulgated by her Dā'īs or missionaries, both in her lifetime and after. The chief missionary (who is called the Dā'ī 'l-Mutlaq) appoints his successor to carry on the work after his death, and generation has succeeded generation right down to our times, so that the esoteric doctrine of this quasi-masonic organization has survived the vicissitudes of time. From the time of Ṭaiyib's concealment till today, it has been held by these believers that one of his descendants will appear sooner or later, for it is considered a matter of cardinal principle that at no time shall the earth be without a spiritual leader (Imām). The existence of the mission and particularly of its literature is to a very large extent due to the foresight and policy of the Queen Saiyidah in separating the functions of the State from those of the Church. In Europe an account of this literature was given for the first time by the Italian scholar Griffini, in the Journal of the German Asiatic Society.*

The glorious reign of the great Queen of Arabia, who had certainly not found her royal position to be a bed of roses, came to an end by her death in Sha'bān 523 A.H. (A.D. 1138), at the advanced age of eighty-three years.† She was buried in a tomb adjoining the Mosque of Dhā Jublā, which was built by herself. Attempts to destroy the sepulchre were made by some of the opponents of the Ismā'īlī creed, but the Saiyida's burial-place is still intact and visited by all sects of Islam. Her last testament, the original of which the Dā'ī Idrīs himself read

* *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. LXIX, p. 80 seq.

† Idrīs, *Uyūn ul-Akhhār*, gives 533 A.H. as the date of her death, and is supported by the Testament which is made in 532 A.H. This means that the Saiyidah lived ninety-three years.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF QUDSIA HATYIDAH ABWA

and copied down in his book, is a document of high literary and archaeological interest. In it she makes for the last time the declaration of her faith in the Imāmat of the house of the Prophet.

She seems to have shared the love peculiar to her sex of collecting and wearing all kinds of ornaments. The precious jewellery which is enumerated in this testament was, in accordance with her wishes, presented to the Imām Taiyib by Aḥmad, son of Abi'l-Ḥasan iṣ-Ṣulaihi.

The Dā'i 'l-Khaṭṭāb, one of her court poets, laments her death in an elegy which begins with :

عليك سلام الله والصلوات ورحمته ماشاء والبركات

"May the salutations of Allāh be upon thee and His Blessings
And His Mercy and His favours as long as He desires."

Although she was ruler over many peoples and a strict administrator of unbending laws and had of necessity to display qualities that betokened inflexibility of purpose, hardness of heart, and severity, yet we can learn from the above story that in her innermost being she was but human, and that she displayed on occasion in those far-off days the same characteristics that are to be seen in her more sophisticated sisters of the Western world of the present day.

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MRS. CHARLES CRAUFURD, who had visited the Yemen lately, said she had been most interested in Mr. Hamdani's lecture ; she could well believe that the Yemen had such a powerful woman as ruler, for she had been struck by the charm and intelligence of the women of Sanaa—they could not only read and write, but were able to talk intelligently on the current subjects of the day. The women she had seen on her journey up, the keepers of the coffee houses and the peasants, were unveiled, but the veil was universal in Sanaa. On her arrival at Sanaa, a message was sent to the effect that she was not to go outside the house unless dressed as an Arab ; an objection was raised, and so the Imām compromised by allowing her to wear European dress, with scarf or a veil, but when visiting the Palace she had to wear Arab dress. The veil was black and worn from the forehead.

Mrs. Craufurd then said she would like to press a point here which needed attention : she had often wondered why, when the European nations were doing so much to give medical help to the men, nothing had been done for the women of Southern Arabia.

The Italians and the Russians had hospitals for men in Sanaa, but nothing for the women ; and although we have only recently taken over the Mandate for Palestine, we have already established two women's hospitals in Jerusalem ; yet in the Aden Hinterland, which we have held for nearly a century, we have done nothing more than allow a small grant for a woman doctor in Aden, and that only lately. It would have

THE SUICIDO OF THE WOMEN

been better if we could give a grant for a women's ward to be attached to the Keith Faulkner Mission Hospital, started by Dr. Young, with the woman doctor in attendance. This was brought to her notice by an Arab woman.

She hoped serious attention would be given to this matter, for it was work which needed doing. (Applause.)

A hearty vote of thanks for a most interesting lecture was given at the close of the proceedings.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

BY MISS E. N. AIDIN

LECTURE given to the Royal Central Asian Society on July 8, 1931, at the Royal Society's Hall, Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in the Chair

In introducing the Lecturer, the Chairman said that the Society was fortunate in having as a lecturer a lady who was so closely in touch with the development of modern ideas among the women of the East ; a very great change was taking place throughout the whole Eastern world, and for good or for ill, women were awaking to the possibilities opened to them by the spread of education, and were learning from the example set by Turkey to take their stand side by side with men. Miss Aidin's experience lay in Persia, perhaps the most backward of Asiatic countries (with the exception of Afghanistan) to take up new ideas ; but the women of Persia could not fail to be influenced by the complete unveiling of their neighbours to the north in Soviet Asia as well as in Turkey, and the immense importance of their education for the new responsibilities and freedom could not be overestimated. Miss Aidin's eighteen years of experience as headmistress of the C.M.S. school at Isfahan gave her a unique authority.

THE LECTURER : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am limiting my subject entirely to the Persian women who live in the towns. A large portion of the population are, of course, in the villages, but so far there has been no movement towards liberty in the villages, and their inhabitants do not form any part of the intelligentsia of Persia. The people of whom I speak, the women in the towns, form about a quarter of the population of Persia. They still wear the veil. That is according to Mohammedan regulations, and I will try to speak about those conditions which are peculiar to Persia. All over the East women are opening up, awakening, feeling there is a new life with new possibilities for them ; but in Persia there are various conditions which make it rather different from any other place in the world. First of all Persia, being a tableland and through having no railway system, has been isolated for many hundreds of years. It is perhaps the one large country without railways. Thus it has been quite isolated, and has lived a life quite separate from that of the rest of the world. For thirteen hundred years now the women in all the towns of Persia have been veiled, and their veil is a black robe which envelops the whole person from head to foot. Over the face there is a horse-hair veil, which makes it quite impossible for anyone to see the face of any woman in

the street. According to Persian law this is compulsory; it is not simply customary as in Egypt or India, and incidents have been known of women being stopped in the street by the police because they have been careless about the use of their veil. Thus a gradual change has been impossible in Persia. The women of Persia cannot begin to unveil and go on by degrees, because you cannot gradually alter the law. It is quite impossible for them to unveil until a law is passed permitting them to do so. What is the mentality that has grown up under this long black veil? Until you have got the background against which modern ideas have come, you cannot realize the position today. What does the veil mean for Persian women, and what has it meant for them during all these hundreds of years? It is the badge of inferiority, it is the outward sign that woman in Persia is considered inferior to man. Ten, or even seven years ago, woman in Persia was considered entirely inferior to man. I remember hearing two boys quarrelling in the street, and as I was going by one said to the other, "I cannot believe a word you say; your word is as the word of a woman." In Persia the name frequently given to woman is one meaning that she is weak or intellectually deficient. Even now they are constantly hearing that their word cannot be trusted, and that they are not as clever, intelligent and go-ahead as men. There is a book which is used in my school, a very good book on domestic economy. Everything else in it is extraordinarily good, but there is one sentence that always amuses me. It is where the book is teaching young ladies how they ought to prepare to keep their homes in future. It says, "It should not be necessary for the husband before he goes out to work in the morning to lock the storeroom door, because a good wife does not steal her husband's things." (Laughter.) That it is supposed to be necessary to put that into a school book shows what women in Persia have had to struggle against in their desire for emancipation and freedom. As regards the veil considered as a practical problem, the chief difficulty has been in connection with marriage. A young man wishes to get married, but according to law he has seen no one except his mother and sisters, and, if it is a sufficiently liberal family, his aunts—but some conservative families will not allow aunts into the magic circle! The young man's mother comes along perhaps to my school, makes her enquiries, and goes back with her report; there is a young lady, tall, rather pretty, dark, with curly hair, and so on. The young man thinks that will suit him very well, and the marriage is fixed up, the bride and bridegroom never having a chance of communicating with each other until after the ceremony is performed. In the more conservative circles, even now, as in the olden days, according to proper Eastern custom, a large looking-glass is placed on the floor—the looking-glass is supposed to bring good

280 PRESENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN

look. The bride and bridegroom sit on the ground, the bride very heavily veiled. The bridegroom puts various trifles into the bride's hand until she consents to throw back the veil, and he sees her for the first time in the looking-glass. Sometimes it is a pleasant surprise, sometimes it is a terrible shock. Such things are unthinkable today, and get more and more impossible. Girls and women begin writing to the papers about it. Girls reading books, reading English and French novels, have to submit to this sort of thing, and it is unthinkable that it should continue much longer. Thus we see Persia at the moment of crisis, and the question is, which way is she going to turn? How far will women be able to live the double life with which they are confronted? There are one or two rather interesting things in connection with the veil. For instance, the veil has got its uses as well as abuses. It is, we feel, a terrible thing that a young girl should marry a man that she has never seen before, and that they should be bound for life, but at the same time you must remember that the veil has been a very great protection to a woman. Strange though it may sound, the Persian woman seems to have no inferiority complex, although naturally one would expect to find it very strongly developed. She has been told during thirteen hundred years that she is inferior, yet dealing with the Persian woman one of the things one notices most strongly is that there is no inferiority complex. Perhaps the veil is an explanation of this. When things get too strained and life is intolerable in her own quarters, the lady puts away her beautiful silken veil, replaces it with an old and common one, and goes into the streets. In this dress no one, not even her dearest friend, or husband, or daughter, would recognize her. She has a day on her own, quite free. No one can speak to her, no man dare address her in the street as long as she keeps the veil down. In the bazaar she buys, talks—everything with the veil down—and she goes back in the evening. This ability to throw off all constraint, to go off, do exactly as she likes and come back in the evening, seems to me one of the things that has preserved woman's equilibrium: it has preserved her nerves and her freedom from any feeling of inferiority. In justice to Persian womanhood, I should say this freedom is not often misused. It is an opportunity for her quite freely to misbehave and no one ever trace it to her. But the Persian women do not; their morality is very high indeed. There is immorality, but on the whole advantage is not taken of the veil, which would so easily become a cloak for all kinds of wickedness. There is another thing which should be taken into account when considering the attitude of Persian women to freedom, and that is that there are no unmarried single women, no superfluous women as they are sometimes called. Every woman is married in Persia, every woman knows that however many offers of marriage she turns down she will have more: there is never a time

when she begins to worry and think that perhaps she is left on the shelf. There is no fear; whenever she chooses to get married she can easily do so. This also creates a different mentality. When thinking of the new woman movement of which I am going to speak in a minute, we must bear in mind these things: (1) that the veil, besides being a badge of inferiority, has also given the woman a certain amount of freedom, which on the whole she has not abused; (2) the fact that there are no women who wish to get married and are not able to do so. That problem does not exist in Persia, and those two things seem to me to have a very striking effect on the feminist movement as we see it developed today in Persia. I do not think I am mistaken when I say that the Suffragette and similar movements in England were very largely sponsored by unmarried women who had time and energy, and who were able to throw their full time and energy into these things; but in Persia these people do not exist. For good or for ill there is a difference in the Woman's Movement as it is developed in Persia compared with that in England or any other European country. Well, that gives something of the picture of what Persian women have had in the past. What about the present?

What about it now? We who have lived in Persia for many years have taken it for granted that Persia is a great stronghold of conservatism, that the law of the Medes and Persians alters not, that although the world may change Persia never will. There was a little story I read in a Persian magazine. It told how God revisited the earth He had made. In France, England, America, everything had changed so that He said, "This is not the world I made." But when He came to Persia He said, "It is the very same as I left it"—meaning that Persia is the same as on the day of creation. But another Persian story illustrates that a change has taken place. It tells of a Persian man in the bazaar carrying a parcel under his arm, but a friend stopped him and said, "I want to speak to you." He replied, "I cannot wait now." "You cannot wait; what is the matter?" "I have bought my wife a new dress." "What of that?" asked the friend. "Cannot you wait to speak to me?" "No," was the reply, "I am afraid if I wait it will be out of fashion before I get home." It is an adaptation of an old story, but it shows how, instead of the law of the Medes and Persians not altering, things are altering very rapidly in Persia. What are the chief factors which have made for change in this most conservative of all conservative countries? First of all the change of government. Many years ago there was a young man engaged in very ordinary work who determined to change the course of things for his nation. He enlisted in the army as a private. I do not know how he got his commission, but step by step he rose up the ladder until we began to hear of a certain general who was doing great feats on the northern

622 RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN

frontier against the rebellious tribes. The general became Minister of War, then Prime Minister, and in 1926 the Prime Minister became Shah of Shahs in Iran, King of Kings in Persia. People were not lacking to tell us how this was the final ruin of Persia, that with the overthrowing of the old dynasty and an adventurer coming to the throne there was no more hope for Persia. But he has abundantly proved how entirely untrue all those prophecies were, and how absolutely fitted he is for the post which he has got by his own fearlessness and personality. Persia today, as never before, has got a chance of taking her place among the countries of the world. I cannot wait now to tell you the many stories of his justice, his impartiality, his fearlessness, his love of the common people, his realization of wherein the difficulty of his nation lay. He is a man of most exceptional character in every way. It is most extraordinary the emphasis he has laid on the very points which really are the chief needs of his nation. I think we may say that the regeneration of Persia started from the day when he became Shah. The *second* great factor in the opening up of Persia and the bringing of new ideas to Persia was of course the motor-car. As I have said, for hundreds of years there was no possibility of connection or communication with the outside world, and then came the motor-car. First was the Ford, because no other car could attempt the roads. It went rattling over main roads, bringing in its train gramophones, cinemas, silk stockings, high-heeled shoes, and everything else of the modern world, and spreading them broadcast in villages where they had never been seen. The cinema would be set up and bring a new world into the villagers' mind. New ideas began to spring from the cinema, from the gramophone, and of course from the motor-car. Then there is a third factor, which is education. The Shah has thrown a tremendous amount of his personal interest into the education of the young, especially girls. It seems rather strange that a man who has himself had no opportunity of a higher education should realize that what is needed for the country today is higher education, especially education for girls. It is no mean achievement to be able to say how in the last seven years the number of schools has risen. In 1922 there were 612 boys' and girls' schools in the whole of Persia—remember that Persia has a population of between ten and twelve million—and in seven years' time the number of schools has reached 3,300. Well, that is a tremendous thing. The number of pupils has trebled in the schools; that, again, is extraordinary. The money spent has more than doubled: in 1924 it was about 760,000 tomans, and in 1929, the latest date for which I can produce any statistics, it was over 1,800,000 tomans. Money is being spent lavishly, and very largely for girls' education: the percentage spent on girls' education has increased far more than that on boys. In the capital,

Tehran, there is one girl for every two boys in school, whereas for thirteen hundred years practically no women have been going to school. Ispahan is very backward; there is one girl for every five or six boys going to schools; but Shiraz is well ahead of this. The Bakhtiaris are making a great push for education and opening a great number of schools. Down near Khuzistan the Anglo-Persian Oil Company is opening a great number of schools, which are tremendously appreciated. All over the country what Persia seems to need is not electric light and cinemas but education. Money is very scarce in Persia, but they are willing to give a very large amount of their finance to the running of schools. This is very remarkable. So we see among the chief factors bringing about a change in Persia are the Shah himself, easier communication with the coast and the world, and the emphasis which is being laid on education. Between the old and the new there is bound to be a clash. Would you picture my school for a minute when we are getting ready for dismissal? All the girls are there with bobbed hair, dressed in neat gym tunics, brown stockings and gym shoes. The order is given and everyone envelops herself in a black veil. I go round making such remarks as, "Cover your face," or "Your dress is showing." This is before going into the street. For none but the least desirable of the Persian population are careless about veiling. These same girls in school delight in basket-ball, running and playing. They ask, "Why should we be less than men?" They read papers, have debates, and prove up to the hilt what wonderful things they will do. Then they go home and the younger brother comes in. They stand up and say, "Shall I get your cup of tea, sir?" But in the school the talk centres on women's progress. As I was crossing the playground I was asked, "Miss Aidin, have you heard the great news? Margaret Bondfield is in the Cabinet. Our turn next!" They are heavily veiled, but are dreaming of the day when they will be Cabinet Ministers—there is no harm in youthful dreams. I can imagine the tremendous enthusiasm when Amy Johnson flew across to Australia, though I was not in Persia at the time. I tell you these things to show how carefully they are following the course of things in the West. At one time the girls in my school were married at about twelve years of age, but now there is a demand for higher education: they remain until sixteen or seventeen, and it is a very sad day when the day of engagement comes along. I had a letter from a Persian woman a few days ago telling about a woman, one of my pupils, married, and shortly afterwards turned out of the house and divorced. She wrote, "God has allowed two great blessings for Persian women—one is divorce and the other is death." It is sad to think of the number of lives that must be sacrificed before the rebirth of the new nation can become possible. They are very good at acting, and we were going to have a little play for school-leaving day.

RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN

The girls came to me and said: "We have the exact play we want to give; it is a magnificent thing." I said: "How good! What is the name of the play?" They told me, and it was not exactly the usual one wants to bring home to the children. "Don't believe anything they tell you about him before marriage; it is all lies!" I suggested something different, and we ended by acting Tennyson's "Lady Clare." We had three scenes showing that there is such a thing as faithfulness in love and marriage, such a thing as ideal marriage. In school you see how the clash is coming, not in my school alone but in all schools. A very sweet girl finished her education in my school and became a pupil-teacher. One morning I got a note, "Will you please write to So-and-so who works in the bank and ask him to come and see you this morning?" I asked the little brother who brought the letter what it was all about, and he told me the engagement was fixed up for the next night, and she had never seen him, and wanted me to see him and tell her what he was like. I wrote and asked the young man to come, and he came. He was a Bahai, had lived in England two years, and was extraordinarily intelligent and progressive. What he wanted to know was whether she would respond to modern ideas of freedom. I wrote back to the girl that so far as I could judge from a twenty minutes' conversation she was a lucky girl. They were married and were happy. Afterwards I asked her, "Supposing he had not been what you wished, what would you have done?" She replied, "I was going to wait until they dressed me up in my wedding finery and then have an hysterical fit, tearing my clothes and banging my head on the floor. By the time they had brought a doctor and he had given me an injection of morphia I should have ruined the clothes. They could not possibly send me to my new home like that, and before the preparations were again complete I should have time to think out another plan."

What is the Woman's Emancipation Movement doing? Strictly speaking, there is no organized Woman's Emancipation Movement, though there is much unorganized effort. In a discussion in my school on the discarding of the veil the great majority of the girls voted against discarding the veil, although they had spoken in favour of it when it came to their turn to speak. They voted against it because, when they got out of the school, it would have annoyed their fathers and brothers if it got about that they had voted against the veil. They could talk, but nothing more. Ten years ago a very courageous woman started a newspaper in Ispahan, and bravely carried it on in the face of tremendous opposition. She is one of the leading women in the feminist movement, one of the few women who have been able to carry right through. She is an extraordinary character, very forcible, and realizes the need of co-ordination in the Woman's Movement. She works through the Press largely. There are the new songs, one very popular,

which is sung in the gramophone, written from the woman's point of view: "Thou hast gone, thou hast broken thy faith with me. Even if thou hast married another, why hast thou forgotten me?" The song is popular, although it is written from the woman's point of view and indicates something of the position that women are trying to get. There have been a few demonstrations in Tehran. For instance, the daughter of Taymour Tash has spoken in public at her graduation in the American Girls' College. There is a society in Tehran in which the condition of membership is that man and wife must join together, and the man allows his wife to unveil in the club. They keep very quiet about it because they are subject to scandal, but it is doing good work quietly. There was an incident which is not widely known, but I have it on what I believe to be good authority. When the Shah was returning from his summer seat thirty-five women decided to petition him to allow them to discard the veil. They dressed all alike in white clothes, with black cuffs, black on the neck and at the waist. The group divided into two parts, half in a shop on one side of the road and half in another shop on the other side of the road. They were all women of high class. Persuaded by some man to at least wear a veil over their hats, so that they would not technically break the rule, they were going to walk out from either side and kneel before the motor-car. They had a petition ready to present to His Majesty asking him to allow them to throw back the black veil off their faces and go free. It would have put the Shah in an extraordinarily difficult position. They waited many hours until they heard he had gone by a side road to his palace, and so the demonstration missed fire. But afterwards he sent a very kind note asking them to send the petition, and when he got the petition he wrote back saying how heartily he sympathized with their aspirations for freedom, and that as soon as possible he would be the first one to help; but in view of events in Afghanistan he did not think it desirable at the moment. With that I agree. Will it not be tragic for Persia if the fusion of East and West is going to mean loss instead of gain? because that is what the danger is at the moment. When you talk to many women they say, "We want to discard the veil and be free to do what we like." What we are trying to urge in school is the value of freedom for service for others. The idea of freedom not for self but for service is what we want to get hold of. As long as it is freedom for self there is nothing but ruin and misery ahead of us, and for that ruin and misery, if it comes, Europe will be largely responsible. Persia has come into contact with the West, and how are they to keep in the straight path that freedom will require? Undoubtedly they are not ready. The only thing which can prepare for the future is education, and I am firmly convinced that nothing but Christian education can prepare

526 RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN

them. If we give them education without religion what hope is there for the future? What motive power is there to keep them in the extraordinarily difficult circumstances along the right line? You know I am in a Mission School, and I think that if we do not give the very best that we have we are letting Persia down badly. If we sincerely believe that the best things we have in England are motor-cars, gramophones and cinemas, we have given our best. But if we believe that the best we have got is our most Holy Faith, until we pass that on to Persia we have no right to tamper with the soul of a nation, giving them material comforts and material things, everything that they can need for material advance, but withholding what we believe to be the greatest of all spiritual values on which the British Empire is built up. It is not built up on material things, and we know that it is not material things which count. We know that it is moral values and spiritual values in which the greatness of a thing consists. (Applause.) The danger is that Persia is going to take over the material things that we have got—our electric light, gramophones, cinemas and everything else—and to think that that is all we have to give. Persia is at the moment asking us to give her of our best. The West has given much, but we cannot rest satisfied until we feel assured that we have given the chance of the same things as we have had the chance of, the highest and best education we can give, the education based on Christian character. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have been very much interested in hearing what Miss Aidin has had to say. She has very wisely stuck to the considerable group of urban women in Persia whom she knows. Three things occur to me about it. Firstly, one must remember, when talking of Persia and the advance of women there, that Persia is not isolated in Asia. The whole of Asia is moving forward, and the inevitable reaction of one country on another is, I think, a danger if any country tries to go too fast. Recently, somewhere in the north of India, there was an all-Asiatic conference at which there were women from China, Japan, and the Malay regions; but I think Persia was not represented. Whether or no such a conference be a wise effort at the present state of affairs, it is at all events an important thing of which European countries as well as Asiatic have to take account. Secondly, there is the point of view of the men. Miss Aidin said something of that, but I should like to ask her more about it. Speaking, not as a man, but as a citizen of the world, I am anxious to know what the Persian men themselves think about it. Miss Aidin quoted one instance in which a Persian wanted an intelligent wife. In other countries—in China, from what I have heard, and certainly in India—one knows that the demand from educated young men is that they shall have wives who will not be

merely squaws. Not all take that view. I remember when an educated Indian woman was trying to organize the wives of a number of middle-class men in a certain town by self-improvement meetings, one man said, "If my wife becomes more intelligent, and is educated, she will cost me more. She will make more demands." So not everybody takes the enlightened view. We should begin young rather than take the women when they are thirty or forty years old. At that time the change is rather a shock—in fact, it must be rather a shock even at the early age. With reference to the play that Miss Aidin said the girls wanted to show at school, I thought the one she was going to suggest was the "Five Pound Look," which suggests that employment may be an alternative to divorce. The attitude of woman towards man undoubtedly does change. I remember an Indian minister—I mean one of the ministers of the reformed Indian constitution—being denied admission to a women's club because his wife had not thrown off the veil. It was a joint club of women who had thrown off the veil, and the husbands of such women. His wife was not willing to do so. She said, "Marry a second wife who will", but he would not do that. The third point I wanted to make is that in some countries—China, I think, is the outstanding instance—educated women often adopt two points of view which perhaps are not desirable. One is that they become materialist. They take from the West what the West has to offer at first sight, and do not go deep. Whether eventually as Moslem countries advance there is any considerable prospect of the spread of Christianity amongst them is perhaps doubtful. It has not hitherto been the case in any Moslem country that Christianity has made great advances, but a Christian spirit can be introduced by the very best Christian people. The second point connected with the emancipation of women is one to which Miss Aidin did not refer. Chinese and some Indian women are profoundly nationalist, extremists, and opposed to other races—not necessarily only to the English or Europeans. There is a tendency in all countries, not only in Asia but in Europe as well, for women to be more extreme in their political views than men. It may be because they mix less with people of other classes and races. Has it happened in Persia as it has in India and China? There are several people present who have knowledge of the women's movement elsewhere, and we should very much like to hear what they have to say.

Mme. RIEDER: May I make a few remarks also? Judging from what our Chairman has said, this movement in Asia of the women is really something extending over a great many frontiers, and as one watches the women's movement around the world it is very amazing to see how little some people—for instance, in Geneva—seem to have been aware of it. We drew a *cordon sanitaire* to keep out cholera when

RECENT CHANGES IN THE OUTLOOK OF WOMEN

Russia and Poland were a danger, but you cannot draw a corded ~~ambition~~ to keep out ideas. Ideas get through the mesh or over it.

The programme of these women at the Asiatic Conference reads like that of one of our International Congresses—such as that in Berlin two years ago, or the next one to take place in Athens next year. All of these Eastern women speak of the question of divorce, and consequently of the question of prostitution and of equal rights. It is all very far in advance of what can be accomplished, but reform is coming, and coming through the joining of hands by all the women round the world.

I noticed in Mexico last year that the women there were intensely interested to hear of these things. Amy Johnson's great flight had just occurred then, and had drawn attention to what a woman can do.

A Mexican asked me: "How can a woman be a Member of Parliament like Lady Astor, with a husband and family and all that it implies?" I said: "Some people do it, but of course it can only be done by a very capable woman, and if married to a husband who agrees thoroughly with her ambitions."

As to education in the East, what is really as much needed as women's education is that the great bulk of the men, who are so very slow to see it, should realize that they need a clearer understanding of the value of intelligent women. I shall not forget a Persian lady coming from Tehran to Baghdad and then taking the rough motor drive across the desert to Beirut. In order not to get jolted and bruised when crossing the desert one finds it wiser to sit tightly packed together. Her veil was discarded, and the distinguished lady sat securely firm in her seat between another traveller and a British officer of goodly size. Much is learned by the women of the East on such adventurous journeys.

I know Persia, and have watched the Turkish Woman Movement from the Young Turk days. The Persian representatives have among them remarkable men, and the most encouraging thing that the new Shah has really authorized is the sending out of about fourteen young Persian women to Europe and elsewhere that they may study. We have one of them in England. Instead of entering into professions they must begin to learn child-welfare work and nursing, so that they can teach these things on their return, and make a very different home for the Persian man.

In the early pre-War days in Turkey, when our Suffragette women in England were doing some extraordinary things, I was much among the women in Turkey, who asked, "What do these English women want? They go into the market-place alone, and lead their men around by the nose." However, I saw that they understood it later, after the War, when I was there in 1925. Nationalist Clubs—the Turk Clubs—full of men and women talking of political affairs.

This Nationalism grew fast, and women's freedom grew with it, aided by Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who introduced the woman's vote with his reforms.

I think that the women's movement in the East is something that is well on its way. We always welcome our Asian sisters' progress with the greatest affection and hope.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL (Miss A. Sorabji) said: I was at the All-Asian Conference referred to by the Chairman, to which women came from different parts of India, as well as from Burma, Ceylon and Japan. We did not have a Chinese delegate, and Persia and Afghanistan were represented by women belonging to those countries, but at the time living in India. It was interesting to note the different subjects that occupied the attention of the women of different countries, and to see at what stages they were in the development of their problems.

The women of India were all at one in their desire for a curriculum for girls different from that for boys. The boys and girls were given the same curriculum when the English system of education was first introduced into our country. For the last few years the women of India have themselves been working to have an absolutely different curriculum for girls. We hope to start a training college in Delhi very shortly, to put our new ideas to an experimental test. The new ideas are probably very old ideas in reality, for we want our girls to know the things that will fit them to be good wives and good mothers, and good home-makers.

One speaker said that in Iraq they hope shortly to have the same curriculum for girls as the boys have. We in India have gone a step further, and whereas till now we have had the same, we are changing that.

You will be interested to know that at our Conference we had Moslems and Hindus, Parsis, Buddhists, Christians and Jews. We were quite at one about a great many points—certainly as to whether we should go fast or slowly; and about the purdah or veil, we women of India who met at this Conference, and at similar meetings, are all decided that the veil must go in our country. In North India the veil or *burqa* is not the small thing worn in Egypt and lately discarded in Turkey, but it is an enveloping garment that covers the woman from head to foot, and we find it is a factor in helping to promote certain diseases we are trying to stamp out, such as tuberculosis, etc. It is a very insanitary affair with us, and we feel it must go.

At this Conference we had women representing the different parts of our very complex country, women with different backgrounds and civilizations, customs and traditions.

When we were talking of the rights of women, and their disabilities in certain domestic relations, a lady from Malabar said she

530 OUTLOOK OF WOMEN IN NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

could not think what rights we other women in India had to fight for; in her part of the country women had rights that no women had even in Europe. The man went to the woman's home on marriage, she was the head of the family, succession was through the female line. If a woman wished to divorce her husband in Malabar all she had to do was to put a pair of shoes crossed at the door and he could not enter her house again. (Laughter and applause.)

The LECTURER: I am very sorry but I can tell you nothing about the position in Turkey. I shall be going there next week to try to study the movement as much as I can, but so far I know nothing of the situation. In connection with the second point I would like to state that it seems to me the changes are coming anyway. It is not exactly that the Christian missions are trying to break down one standard and put up another, but the old standard appears to us crumbling and nothing is being put in its place. Personally I feel that one has got to give the best and highest one knows in morality and everything else. In education one can only go on one's own personal experience as to what has helped one most to do right. There is no use in trying to destroy. Anything destructive I admit is harmful, and everything constructive seems to me of value.

A most interesting speaker gave the point of view of the Moslem ladies; they were content with the veil as a sign of care and respect, and it was the economic position more than anything else that had forced women to unveil and take up work. The same forces were operating now as had brought about the universal higher education of women in Europe a century ago.

After some further discussion the CHAIRMAN thanked the lecturer for her most stimulating lecture and the ladies who had taken part in the discussion. He hoped Miss Aidin would speak again on this vastly important matter when she next came to England. (Applause.)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

THE Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall on Wednesday, June 10, at 4.15. The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., was in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN called upon the HON. SECRETARY to read the Report for 1930.

HON. SECRETARY: The Thirtieth Anniversary Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society has been called in accordance with Rule 35 to consider the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year.

The first and most important point to which I must call your attention is that His Most Gracious Majesty the King has been pleased to command that this Society shall in future be known as the Royal Central Asian Society. Sensible of the greater dignity and importance which this title gives us, the Council are anxious to mark the occasion by increasing the membership to 2,000, and thus to enlarge the influence and scope of the Society.

The Council hope that every present member of the Society will co-operate by obtaining one or more persons to join.

Ten years ago our numbers were about 200, now they are 1,453.

During the last year I have to report the loss of 48 members by resignation and 25 by death, but we have received 200 new members, so that our membership is steadily increasing.

Amongst those who have died I regret to record the loss of Lord Thomson, the late Minister for Air, and our last anniversary lecturer, Sir Sefton Brancker, late Director of Civil Aviation. The tragic circumstances of their death is known to all.

General Sir Raleigh Egerton, who died recently, was not only Hon. Secretary, but for many years was on the Council, and was Hon. Librarian at the time of his death.

The Council also regret to report the following deaths:

Lady Bax-Ironside; Lord Birkenhead; Sir Frederick Black; Mr. Cecil Crawley, C.B.E.; Mr. Wilfrid Mathieson; Lord Melchett; Captain McClenaghan, 10/8 Punjab Regiment (who was shot on parade); Mr. Roland Michell; Colonel H. T. Morshead, D.S.O.; Mr. Cecil Richardson; Mr. F. M. Rundall; Mr. B. Lenox Simpson (better known as

The Hon. Secretary reported that our membership has increased by 200 this year. But this does not give a fair picture. We lost 48 members by resignation, and that is a great number, and to our great regret we have had 25 deaths. As against these we have had 200 new members. It does not represent a full 200, in fact barely over the hundred. It shows how urgent is the need of new members if in these times the Society is to keep up its financial and numerical strength.

I think that is all I have to say, except to express the thanks of the Society to Colonel Stevens and Sir William Beynon for their work during the past years, and not only to them but to all the officers, and lastly to the staff, we tender our most hearty thanks today. (Applause.)

of the Society shall in future be known as the Royal Colonial Asian Society, and we are now recognised amongst the royal societies of the country.

We are very glad of the opportunity of having Sir Herbert Richmond as Vice-Chairman, and I think the Society is very much to be congratulated. As Chairman I shall give him as much work as I can.

We are very sorry to lose Sir Claud Jacob. He is very busy, and cannot find time to attend Council Meetings. We shall be very well served by Sir Herbert Richmond and others, and I think you may feel confident that the work of the Society will be capably carried on.

We have had some interesting lectures during the past year. May I just remind you of some of them:

India: Sir Akbar Hydari on "The Position of the Indian States in the New Constitution." Sir Reginald Craddock on "Indian Reform and Asia." "The North-West Frontier Province," by Mr. J. Coatsman.

Turkey: "The Caravan Road from Persia to Turkey," by Mr. Michael Vyvyan. "Impressions of Modern Turkey," by Mr. D. Talbot Rice.

Persia: "Changes and Development during the Pahlavi Regime," by Mr. D. Bourke-Borrowes. "British and Russian Relations with Modern Persia," by Rosita Forbes. "Persian Painting," by Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson. "Glimpses of Persian History through Twenty-five Centuries," by Miss Ella Sykes.

Arabia: "The Folk-lore of Iraq," by Mrs. E. S. Stevens. "From Damascus to Hail," by Mr. Eldon Rutter. "The First Crossing of the Rub' al Khali," by Mr. Bertram Thomas. "The Life and Times of Queen Sulaihid of the Yemen," by Mr. A. F. al Hamdani. The Arab and Jewish views of the recent Commission in Palestine were given by Mrs. Lindfield Soane and Mr. Leonard Stein.

China: "Weihaiwei," by Sir Reginald Johnston. "The Demonetization of Silver," by Mr. A. F. Algie. "What the Surrender of Extraterritoriality will Mean," by Sir Harry Fox. "Chinese Personalities," by the Hon. W. W. Astor.

A lecture on the Mandates by Mr. Norman Bentwich, while today Admiral Sir Richard Webb is lecturing on "The Problem of the Straits."

On the whole, although I have not always attended, I think that this is a very representative list of lectures, and as good as we could have. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing thanks to reviewers as well as lecturers. Their excellent work has helped to make our Journal so authoritative. While we would thank members for their help, there have been many non-members who have helped us. I should like to mention especially Professor Soothill, Professor Coatsman of the London School of Economics, and Professor MacNair of Columbia University.

such small knowledge as I have of one quarter of this vast Asian problem, it appears to me that the subject which this Society exists to study is taking on yet a new aspect, and that we are rapidly approaching a time when one of the contributions and contacts between Britain and the East is a thing no less surprising than this: that the East itself is attempting to adopt and reproduce various portions of the British Constitution. The introduction into an Oriental country, with a long history of autocracy, of methods of self-government which have been evolved here during centuries of experiment by a Western nation for its own condition and its own people, that attempt, that aspiration, that effort, must always be a momentous and even a hazardous enterprise; but wherever it honestly occurs, in India or elsewhere, it is one which should be studied by all Britons who are friends of the East with sympathy and with understanding. (Hear, hear.)

In considering this new constitutional problem there is one special difficulty. I never have seen on this subject any ground for economy of frankness, and it is much better to state boldly and plainly the truth. The difficulty is not removed, indeed I think the difficulty is intensified and aggravated, by an assumption which is almost invariably made, an assumption which is common both to constitutional reformers in the East, and to those who sympathize with them in our own land—to apply it to a particular case, an assumption which is common both to India and to Britain—the assumption that the only form of constitutional progress which is worthy to be considered is a form which follows strictly British lines. It is quite natural this assumption should be made. So far as our own people are concerned, it is our British constitutional method and structure which is the only one we really understand—if, indeed, we understand that. And as regards constitutional reformers in India and elsewhere in Asia, the truth is that it is only the British model of which the Indian constitutional student learns anything in the textbooks which he studies. The result is that we tend, all of us, both on the British side and on the Indian side, to treat British constitutional methods and forms as the only model, whereas, in fact, they are only one species, and a very curious species at that, of a very much wider genus. The British Parliamentary method, if you try to apply it to India, can only be applied in a translation, and the very best of translations has an unhappy tendency of losing something of the spirit of the original. To put the thing in another way, British constitutionalism sought to be applied to Oriental conditions involves an operation of transplanting—transplanting a form of government native to British soil, and that is a very delicate operation indeed. The only chance of its success would be if the new institutions were given plenty of time to take root and to develop along their own line.

My point is—and I think it is proper to mention it at a meeting of students of Oriental life and progress—that the British Constitution ought not to be treated as a sort of panacea which is sure to produce the right cure in all places for all people in all circumstances and at all times. We here, adopting the usual British tradition of speaking slightly of our most precious possession, may as well admit that the British Constitution is not a perfect work of art at all. At any rate, it is a living organism which changes, and has changed, with the times, and, as we can see without going to the Far East, many countries have tried in some written document to reproduce our British institutions, and sometimes they have produced a thing which is very unlike the model which was supposed to be followed. In other words, a mode of Government in any country, East or West, must be the expression of the political instincts of the people concerned (applause), and it is an enormous assumption to make, as all who have studied this aspect of the Orient realize, that the species of government, self-government, responsible government, if you will, which has grown up through the centuries with us will turn out to be the model and exemplar even for the most progressive peoples of the East.

Let me point out two very special things. Our British Parliamentary system is what it is very largely because of our party organization, if indeed, Mr. Chairman, I at this moment am at liberty to speak of party organization. And again, our system is one in which a Government is liable to be brought to an end at any moment by the vote of the legislature, and to some of us it is extremely surprising for what a very long time some Governments go on living! But these two features, though they are undoubtedly features of our Constitution, are not a necessary part of the idea of more responsible government or of self-government. In our case this form of evolution is very largely due to the fact that Britain is a small country; that Members of Parliament are very closely in contact with the constituencies which they are supposed to represent; that if they do not truly represent them they will hear about it very quickly, and these things which are possible with us are really only possible because of the special conditions of our political life. And it very largely turns on another thing which has a most direct bearing upon this problem in the Far East; it turns upon this: that in Britain political minorities are prepared to trust themselves to political majorities—partly because even the most hopeless of minorities dreams that it will be a majority some day! Partly, again, because there is an immense amount of moderation even in the most extreme of our people, and partly because of the fundamental agreement of all British parties and all sorts of British people on a great many matters of common consent.

Now, unless you can reproduce those features in India it is a very

dangerous thing to set to work to dig up the British Constitution and try to transplant it, without alteration, elsewhere. Since so many people are good enough to say they have read the Statutory Commission's Report, though possibly they do not always put it under their pillows at night, I have ventured to extract one sentence from the unanimous Report of the Statutory Commission on the future of Indian government which I think puts this thought tersely and clearly. We wrote: "It seems to us most unlikely that, if Britain had been of the size of India, if communal and religious divisions so largely governed its politics" as they govern Indian politics, "and if minorities had had as little confidence in the rule of others as they have in India, popular government in Britain would have taken the form that it has." Therefore the reflection, and the only reflection that I seek to dwell upon before I ask you to drink the toast is this: do not let us, however much we desire, as we do desire all of us, to help these great Oriental peoples along the road to constitutional progress, do not let us join in promoting the delusion that the British model is the only form of responsible government. It is possible to conceive of various methods whereby the executive, for example, might become effectively answerable to public opinion, and I am quite clear about this—that any acceptable system for the East, any acceptable system for India, must make definite provision for minorities in the actual structure of the Constitution itself, and in a way which is extremely difficult to reconcile with majority rule as we understand it. (Applause.)

And that leads me to this, which is a cognate point, though an extension of what I have endeavoured to say. The real reason why what is called the Federal solution holds the field in reference to the future of Indian government if it is ever to advance along the Constitutional path is this: it is because a Federal basis is absolutely necessary when you are dealing with a country so large and so varied as India, so that ultimate union can only be attained by allowing the utmost diversity in the various constitutional elements. Whether the Statutory Commission was unduly cautious in thinking that such a solution could only be reached by degrees, or whether some other people are unduly sanguine when they almost speak as though it was already within reach, is a matter which can be discussed on another occasion. But whether it come soon or whether it come late, that is a fundamental reason, as it seems to me, why the future development of Indian Government in the direction of responsibility must take a Federal form.

And let me say in conclusion that one of the great services which Britain has been able to render to Indian political thought is to help India to face the facts, and if we do not help India to face the facts it is we who are false to the trust which we ought to discharge. What I am saying is not a denial of the aspirations of the Indian peoples. It

is only a recognition of the necessity of taking long views. If delay were to arise, it will not arise because Britain has desired it. If delay arises it arises from the nature of the problem to be solved, and that, as I think, is not in the least denying or opposing all that is legitimate and genuine in the great Indian National movement, for Federalism is a form of Nationalism, and I am convinced that in the long run it is the form which must be taken in India—India in the larger sense of All India—if indeed that immense continent, with its 350,000,000 people of so many creeds, languages and races, is going to have a peaceful and progressive future.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have the good fortune to be authorized to associate the toast of "The Royal Central Asian Society" with Sir Arnold Wilson. (Applause) If anybody is fit to speak with expert knowledge and enthusiasm on many aspects of Central Asian problems, it is he. I recall, Lord Allenby, speaking at a dinner of another society some years ago when I think you were present, when I had the duty of proposing the toast of that society, coupled with the name of our late lamented friend, David Hogarth. I said something about Dr. Hogarth of which I was rather proud at the time, and I am sufficiently proud of it to repeat it tonight with a new application. I said the best thing that could be said about Dr. Hogarth was that he was the sort of man Herodotus would have liked to meet. I venture to say the same thing to the very distinguished orientalist, administrator, scholar and student who is to respond to this toast. I invite the company to join me in drinking the health of the Royal Central Asian Society, coupled with the name of Sir Arnold Wilson.

The toast having been most cordially honoured,

Lieut.-Colonel Sir ARNOLD WILSON said: My Lord Chairman, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is three years since Sir John Simon was our guest. On that occasion he accepted the invitation on condition that he was not asked to speak, and we had the melancholy satisfaction of watching one of the greatest exponents of forensic and parliamentary oratory sitting mute and, I hope, happy whilst lesser lights addressed us. Lord Peel on that occasion assured us that, as sometimes happened in Parliament, the best speech of the evening was that which had not been delivered. We have been more fortunate tonight, for Sir John Simon consented to speak on condition that he was not asked to remain to listen! It has been our privilege at our banquets to listen to the addresses of not a few British statesmen. There must be many here who can remember Lord Bryce in 1914 speaking in accents which read curiously prophetic today, though he could scarcely have foreseen that within two years he would be called upon to preside over an inquiry into one of the greatest tragedies of history, the massacre of a minority of more than one and a quarter million by a

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dominant majority of some 8,000,000; many can remember Lord Carson in 1920 and in 1924, with that marvellous gift of lucid and comprehensive oratory, foretelling a period of storm and stress in Asia which would outlast our generation; Lord Milner in 1923, pleading for a policy of patience and perseverance in Palestine, and urging that only by a policy of active co-operation and understanding could the Arabs and Jews in that country reach economic prosperity and political stability. That policy we may congratulate ourselves on having pursued pertinaciously for the past eight years, and I believe we are nearer today than ever before to that policy of co-operation which Lord Milner pleaded for so earnestly. It is within my knowledge that there are commercial firms, with great stakes in Palestine, who are doing their very best to work on those lines, and I cannot doubt that they will eventually succeed. We have listened to Lord Birkenhead with his dry, almost acid wit, and to Dr. Hogarth with his pungent, but never acid, humour; and I cannot but think that when all those great men meet in the Elysian shades they will sometimes discuss the affairs of Asia, which they have studied so deeply and which they have done so much to elucidate. And we have heard other orators, statesmen still living: Lord Allenby, Lord Plumer, Lord Lloyd, Lord Zetland and others. They have all served their generation and are still serving it, and yet I venture to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that we have never listened to a more courageous and more definite expression of opinion than we have listened to this evening from the lips of Sir John Simon, who, with his colleagues on the Statutory Commission, over a period of two years, ascertained by inspection, as the mathematical school books used to say, the essential basis of any scheme for the better government of India. I think I can speak for you all when I say that we should prefer, if I may adapt a saying of Dr. Johnson, to err in company with Sir John Simon than to think rightly with those from whom he differs.

Sir John Simon has been kind enough to congratulate us on attaining the status of Royal; the King has been graciously pleased to command us to call ourselves the Royal Central Asian Society, but we are in reality the Royal Central Society for Asia. The privilege of a Royal Command demands from us the exercise of certain responsibilities, and I appeal to all here to do their best to obtain further recruits for this Society. We have, it is true, increased our membership in the last two years from 1,000 to 1,500, but we should have more. After all, we cover the whole of Asia; we include all the most responsible persons who have any connection whatever with that great continent; the officers of the Society are doing their best for us. I will not particularize, as I have been forbidden to mention the name of at least one of them, but we are grateful to one of our officers whose unflinching flair for dis-

covering fresh lecturers and fresh reviewers and whose ability to tackle the increasing office work involved by our increasing membership commands our unstinted admiration. To Sir William Beynon and Colonel Stevens, your Honorary Secretaries, the promotion of your interests is not merely a labour of love but a love of labour, and they deserve all the support you can give them. Your finances are safe in the hands of Sir Edward Penton, but not so secure that we do not require further members. The Council has to deplore the loss of one of its oldest and most active members in the person of General Sir Raleigh Egerton, but, thanks to the assiduity and energy of Lord Lloyd, it has never been stronger. I will not bring a crimson blush to the faces of members of Council by descanting upon their individual capacities, but I may be permitted to welcome on this occasion Mr. Bertram Thomas, who has just joined their company. (Applause.) One on whom the Royal Geographical and the Royal Asiatic Societies have respectively conferred the highest honours in their power requires no further commendation.

And then I should like to take this opportunity of expressing on behalf of you all to Sir Aurel Stein, by means of a telegram, our sympathy at the manner in which he has been treated, as you will observe from the columns of *The Times* today, by the Chinese authorities in the course of his important and fundamentally valuable researches. (Cheers) Sir Aurel Stein has done more for Central Asia than any of us, and he has met, as appears from today's telegrams, nothing but gratuitous and pettifogging obstruction at the hands of that little band of oligarchs who are pleased to call themselves the Government of one-sixth of the human race. We can only register and deplore the fact.

The JOURNAL has never been so good. I can say that without fear of contradiction. (Hear, hear.) The articles are of quite exceptional interest, and the reviews, which cover books in all the principal languages of Europe as well as that of America, are of quite exceptional interest and value. Indeed, we have received special praise at the hands of *The Times Literary Supplement*, than which there is no higher authority in the English language.

Amongst our guests this evening is Mr. Whitley, who left the Speaker's chair only to assume an even more controversial post as Chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation; scarcely had he accepted that post than he was called upon to take the chairmanship and to proceed to India at the head of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. In that capacity, accompanied by Mrs. Whitley, whom we are very glad to welcome here this evening (applause), he travelled, as the Royal Commission's Report will show, no less than 16,000 miles; he examined 837 witnesses, and he has done, like Sir John Simon, the best of things in the worst of times in that he has contrived to produce a substantially unanimous report upon one of the most vital, as it is one,

of the most controversial, issues of our time, succinctly and briefly embodied in no less than 357 specific recommendations or suggestions. That is a great achievement. (Hear, hear.) We had hoped to entertain, and to be entertained by, other guests this evening, Lord Trenchard and Sir Roger Keyes among others, but after they had accepted our invitation they received a Royal command, which I regret to believe they accepted with alacrity, and I can only hope that they and Sir John Simon and Lord Allenby will show themselves to be as proficient on their feet in the State lancers as they would doubtless have been in a somewhat different sense had they been on their legs instead of me this evening. In their absence and in the absence of Lord Allenby and of the Chairman of Council, Lord Lloyd, it falls to me to perform a task for which I am most imperfectly equipped: to offer a few general observations upon Asia at large. I do so with all diffidence and with all humility, for I received a telegram when I was somewhere near the top of Scafell two days ago announcing that none of these distinguished men could hope to be present.

May I begin by dismissing, in a sentence, the fable of the unchanging East. It is a legend which has no foundation in history. The record of Asia has been, from the earliest times, a series of cataclysmic changes and of violent vicissitudes which have no parallel even in Europe. They arise for the time being, as it seems to me, from three principal causes. The first is the improvement of communications. Populations distinguished by profound cultural, I might almost say biological, differences are now being brought into ever closer contact, and the forces of economic rivalry tend to exacerbate racial prejudices and racial dislikes. Secondly, we have the results of war-time propaganda. Promises, declarations, and pledges freely, carelessly, almost cynically given during the period of the war by ourselves and other European Powers and often accepted in almost the same spirit have come back like a boomerang. The fruit has been bitter, and not only to us. Thirdly, we have the cumulative outcome of the policies pursued by Great Britain and other European Powers in the East for the past 100 years.

May I quote here a single sentence indicted by Sir Henry Maine in regard to India nearly eighty years ago: "The English nation cannot evade the responsibility for rebuilding on its own foundations that which it has unwittingly destroyed." On what foundations are we to build? The idea that an Eastern society can be reconstituted upon an improved native model is a pure delusion not less dangerous because it is widely believed. The new foundations must be of the Western and not the Eastern type, for a country over which the breath of the West, heavily charged with Western philosophic and Western scientific thought, has once passed, and in passing has profoundly affected the

minds, the ideas, and the actions of the educated classes, can never be the same as before. The new foundations must be of the Western and not the Eastern type. But it does not follow, as Sir John Simon has explained with an emphasis which is unmistakably significant, that they need be based upon our systems, and, more especially, it does not follow that they need involve a representative form of Government based upon an electorate. Eastern nations have in the past contrived very generally to maintain their bureaucratic ideas with autocratic systems of Government which, indeed, involved many forms of representation, but never, as far as I know, on an elective basis. The outstanding feature of the policies of every Asiatic country has been the failure of electoral institutions to take root.

Let us take the case of the Assembly of Turkey, to which every candidate for the suffrage of the electors is nominated in advance by the President of the Republic. Take Persia, where by more indirect but equally effective means arrangements are made by the executive to ensure that all candidates of every Parliament are of a single political colour. I need not refer to Egypt. Its adventures in the electoral domain are fresh in your minds. In Palestine no Parliament has yet sat or is likely to sit. In Syria no Parliament has sat for many years. In Mesopotamia, Ja'far Pasha el Askeri will not mind me saying, ministerial control of the electoral machine is accepted as an unofficial part of the constitution. In Ceylon and in the Dutch East Indies it is true that we and the Dutch are making electoral experiments which are viewed with great apprehension by many responsible people. In India I think it is fair to say, and Sir John Simon had he been here would have nodded assent, that importance is attached to the electoral system not because it is an efficient system, but because it embodies a Western conception and therefore an enviable status. I need not detain you by discussing the fate of electoral systems elsewhere. They have no existence in Russia; they are clearly decaying in South America; they are on their trial in Europe. It may, indeed, be the case that all the world is out of step "except our Jock," but it will be increasingly hard to convince the world that we alone are right in our passion for applying to Eastern countries methods of government which even in this country are not viewed with the same enthusiasm as they were thirty years ago, and all that Sir John Simon has said on that subject this evening seems to me to bear out that contention.

And there is one other point, the question of population. The outstanding fact, unique in history, is that the population of the world at large, and more especially of Asia, has increased by 100 per cent. in the past one hundred years. The population of India has trebled; the population of Russia has trebled; the population of the Malay States and Ceylon and of Egypt has more than doubled in

the short period during which we have had a certain responsibility for the government of those countries. Is this to be the end of all our *livings*—that we are to promote indefinitely the increase of the human race? We have encouraged the growth of agriculture; by improved productive agriculture we have made two blades of grass grow where one grew before. We have encouraged preventive medicine. We have taught the peoples of the East how to avoid famines; we have enabled them to plant thirty or forty million people in desert areas where formerly only a few nomads could find precarious existence. In the language of the Christmas lesson in the Authorized Version, we have multiplied the nations, but we have not increased their joy. We are faced with the appalling responsibility that in the event of a breakdown in the modern machinery of a Constitution, such as that of India or Egypt, we threaten to throw these millions for whose birth we have been responsible into the depths of misery appalling to contemplate. It is not our fault. The results we see before us are the reaction of 100,000,000 proud parents to the philogenitive effect of civilization, but there it is; we have this vast population of 500,000,000 as compared with fewer than 120,000,000 which the Roman Empire at its height was responsible for, wholly dependent for their existence upon the maintenance of the delicate machinery of government which we ourselves have devised. There is no question more worthy of study at your hands, not with the molluscous objectivity of the tame historian, but with the keen interest of participants whose happiness and that of their children depends on finding the right solution. It is a question which the earliest philosophers were not asked to deal with; but we have to deal with it—and in this generation.

There is only one freedom open to man today—freedom to choose his own master. And we, whose belief it is that progress towards such an end is possible, must go ahead, true to ourselves and true to our own natures, not dependent, as Sir John Simon said, upon any particular remedy, upon any particular constitution, but realizing, above all, the awful responsibility that rests upon us for having increased the populations in the countries over which we elect to exercise influence. We cannot now allow them to slip back, for while anarchy one hundred years ago meant little, even a brief spell of anarchy today may mean a calamity and the terrors of famine and civil war the like of which the world has not yet witnessed.

I have detained you too long, and I apologize for it. ("No, no.") I will now ask you to raise your glasses and drink to the health of your guests, coupled with the name of Mr. Whitley.

The toast having been enthusiastically honoured,

The Right Hon. J. H. WHITLEY said: Sir Arnold Wilson, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Ever since I was a boy I have been

puzzled by a phrase which is in common usage among us, a phrase which suggests that it is a meritorious act to heap coals of fire on another fellow's head. Even today I do not understand the meaning of that phrase, but I do feel that tonight I am in the position of the other fellow. In inviting me to be one of your guests tonight, and particularly in asking me to take the great responsibility of responding for all your guests, I feel the coals of fire upon my head, for I have perpetrated recently a horrid crime. I have had some share in inflicting on a long-suffering public one more Blue Book. Well, I will only make this little apology, that I was but one of twelve participants in that crime, and I found myself simply in the position of a learner throughout. I had by my side nine gentlemen with lifelong experience of Indian affairs, and, fortunately, I was able to rest a great deal of my responsibility upon them. The last thing that you will expect of me, I am sure, is that I should add to my crime in your presence tonight, and, therefore, far be it from me to attempt to pronounce on the great questions that have been discussed with you by Sir John Simon and Sir Arnold Wilson. I only feel that this call gives me an opportunity which I must not neglect, and that is to express for myself, and I am sure for all my colleagues, our thanks for all the help that was given to us in this country and in India in the performance of our duty. From beginning to end, both here and in India, from everybody concerned we had most whole-hearted sympathy and help. Soldiers, administrators, business men throughout came readily forward and gave us their assistance.

I returned from my short experience of India with perhaps one thought which you will allow me to express tonight, and which certainly is not one likely to arouse any controversy—it is a thought of profound admiration for all the men and women who have devoted their lives to the interests for which your Central Asian Society works. Sir Arnold tells me that the word "Central" is a little in the wrong place; the adjective applies to the Society, and not to Asia. It does not divide Asia into centre and other parts. Your Society takes under its ken the whole of the people—the whole of the interests of Asia. I did feel, particularly in the outermost parts of those great countries, a profound admiration for the men and women who were pioneers in past days, who have left their mark on every part of those great districts, and for those who today are bearing the heat and burden. When one comes into contact with those men and women, often in very lonely places, upholding the highest traditions of British conduct and British understanding and sympathy with the peoples with whom they come in contact, one cannot but be very humble in admiration of what they have achieved and are achieving. Ladies and gentlemen, in answering for the whole of your guests tonight, I am conscious that I am perhaps

the one with least knowledge and experience amongst you. But I can only say that my short experience has left me full of sympathy both for the peoples with whom you are, or have been, concerned, and with those of you who have held and are now holding positions of responsibility.

There was one question I asked myself over and over again. As you travel through India you often hear of the people called aborigines, and you are told that the great bulk of people are illiterate. Well, I came away with the feeling that, even if a man cannot read or write, he has the same human feelings as you and I have; he has exactly the same responsiveness to justice and the same sensitiveness against injustice, that human nature is pretty much the same the world over. Perhaps that was more striking when we came in contact with the boys. A great part of my life has been spent in the home country in contact with boys. Whether away up in the distant province of Assam or the more distant confines of Burma, whenever I was able to come into contact with boyhood I could not help thinking that the boys were exactly the same in spirit, in possibilities, as the boys in our own country. Once more let me tender to all those who have helped me in my task, and to all you who are concerned with the interests of the peoples of Asia, my humble thanks for all the help that you have given me in my duty.

This concluded a series of thought-provoking speeches, on which the company exchanged views as it slowly dispersed.

In accordance with the resolution taken at the Annual Dinner a telegram was sent to Sir Aurel Stein, saying the Royal Central Asian Society wished to express their sympathy with him, the greatest living Central Asian scholar, in the unjust treatment accorded to him by the Chinese Government.

Sir Aurel replied "Gratefully appreciate kind message of sympathy. Encourages effort in alternative fields"—an answer characteristic of his courtesy and courage.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NEPAL

COMPILED BY CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS

THE literature dealing with a country which is in normal circumstances closed to Europeans must of necessity be small in amount.

For this reason I have tried to include in the following list everything which has been written about Nepal in the principal languages of Europe. Very few of the books are devoted exclusively to Nepalese matters, and where I have thought it necessary I have added a note to indicate the contents of certain volumes. In recent years the Nepal Government has published a number of standard Hindi classics and school books in Nepali translations. These are not included in this list, but they are available in the India Office Library. I have thought it of interest to include a few of the more important books and articles on Tibet and other neighbouring states.

MANUSCRIPTS

HODGSON, B. H.

All in the Library of the India Office, Whitehall. The numbers refer to the volumes in which the manuscripts have been bound. Much of the material occurs in two or more places, in the form of rough working notes and fair copies, but I have noted everything that has been bound and listed by the India Office. The following list takes notice only of MSS. in English, but there is in addition a large number of volumes in various vernaculars, chiefly Persian, Urdu, Nepali, Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, and Tibetan. The total number of bound volumes of MSS. given by Hodgson to the India Office, including English and vernacular MSS., is just over a hundred. The chief contents of each volume only are indicated. Hodgson was very inconsistent in his spelling of place-names and people, but I have made no attempt to standardize it. His output was enormous, as the following list will show, but much of his ethnological work is unmethodical and not of great use when judged by modern standards.

Vol. 1: British relations with Nepal from their commencement down to A.D. 1834; compiled from the records of the Residency Office and other authentic sources, with occasional observations by A. Campbell, Assistant Surgeon.

Memorandum regarding a Mission from the Goorkha Darbar to the Governor-General of India at Calcutta in 1835-6, by A. Campbell, Officiating Assistant Resident attached to the Mission.

- Vol. 2: Routes and itineraries to *Erthmandu* and to *Lower forts* and military stations.
- Vol. 3: Topography. Contains various routes, including China to Darjeeling, and estimated distances and routes from Nepal to China.
- Vol. 4: The Newar tribe: Narrative of Nepal. (Contains geographical descriptions.) Routes in Nepal.
- Vol. 5: Hill tribes: Magar, Gurung, Chepang. Customs and manners of the Newar, Khus, Mugger, Gooroong, Murmi, Limboo, Kiranti, and Lepcha. The Terai: Scattered papers in other volumes here collected. *Jatmala*, or classification of the Newar tribe. List of confiscated property of Krishna Jaisi, *Darogha*, or head of the elephant stables.
- Vol. 6: Ethnology, Trade, Law, and Army. Classification of hill tribes. An account of the judicial system. Apparently a fair copy of the scattered notes concerning the army in other volumes, particularly Volume 9.
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- Vol. 8: Economics. Lists of the villages, houses, and revenues of the whole eighteen states of *Joomla* as it was ascertained in 1894. Miscellaneous notes on agriculture.
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THE OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE PERSIAN GULF

IT is possibly owing to lack of advertising in England and India that the overland route between Europe and the Persian Gulf, thence to India, is not as well known as it deserves to be, except by residents of Persia and Iraq, although lately there has been an increase in the number of people who travel home this way from India.

The route, especially for those who dislike the sea, has considerable advantages over the ordinary sea route round by the Mediterranean, Red Sea, and Indian Ocean. It is shorter, cheaper, and far more interesting, and one does not suffer the boredom of a three weeks' voyage on the same boat. During the last six years many improvements have been made, the chief one being the opening up of the Mosul route, which obviates the long and very tiring motor journey across the desert between Damascus and Baghdad.

I give below a time-table for the direct journey from London to Karachi, showing the cost and some other particulars. If one has leisure it is more interesting to break the journey by staying a few days at Istanbul (Constantinople), Aleppo, Baghdad, and various interesting places on the way, but these excursions add considerably to the cost of the journey.

There are several variations of the overland route, one being from Aleppo across the mountains, by car or by rail to Damascus, and from there to Baghdad by the Nairn convoy; but this way costs more than the Mosul route, though it has the advantage of passing Damascus, which is one of the most fascinating cities in the Near East. Many people come out across the Mediterranean to Beyrout, then by car to Baghdad, or from Egypt through Palestine to Haifa and then to Damascus, but neither of these two routes are strictly overland, as they involve crossing the Mediterranean by boat.

LONDON-ISTANBUL (Simplon-Orient Express) *via* Dover, Calais, Paris, Lausanne, Milan, Trieste, Belgrade and Sofia.

Depart London, Wednesday 11.15.
Arrive Istanbul, Saturday 12.0.

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	18	0	4	13	10	0
Sleeper . . .	7	1	8	4	18	11
Meals . . .	8	3	0	3	3	0

The train meets the Channel boat at Calais and goes to Istanbul direct; there is no changing; it consists of first- and second-class sleepers only and a restaurant car. The difference between the two classes is that first-class compartments contain a single berth and the second class contain two berths. If two people are travelling together it is much cheaper and hardly less comfortable to go second class. Books of food-tickets for all meals on the journey can be bought beforehand—they are charged for on the train in the currency

OVERLAND ROUTE TO THE PERSIAN GULF

of the country through which the train is passing, but English money is accepted everywhere. The food is excellent, and a great variety of local wines is obtainable. A recent innovation is a hot and cold shower-bath, very necessary in a train journey lasting several days.

It is a great advantage on this part of the journey, and afterwards as well, if luggage can be reduced to hand baggage only—each traveller can take about three normal-sized suitcases inside the compartment. Heavy luggage in the van can be registered through, but the formalities connected with heavy luggage at Istanbul are sometimes liable to cause considerable delay. Customs and passport formalities are arranged so as to cause the minimum amount of inconvenience to travellers; passports are taken over by the sleeping-car conductor, who deals with the officials at the numerous frontiers, and the customs inspectors visit the carriages on the train between stations.

The station at Istanbul is just below the Museum, and there is time to look through it and to visit some of the buildings in the neighbourhood before crossing over by the ferry to Hyder Pasha. The porters who carry hand baggage across the Bosphorus have the reputation of being very rapacious and truculent, but recently I find their manners have improved. The Taurus Express leaves from the station where the ferry boat lands.

HYDER PASHA-NISSIBIN (Taurus Express) *via* Afium, Konia and Aleppo.

Depart Hyder Pasha, Saturday 16 08.

Arrive Nissibin, Tuesday 5.20.

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	8	5	6	6	0	4
Sleeper . .	3	1	3	2	5	9
Food . . .	1	10	0	1	10	0

This train is almost identical to the one on the European side. The scenery during this part of the journey is magnificent, especially where the line twists in and out through the wild ravines and rocky passes of the Taurus Mountains. There is time enough at Aleppo to take a drive round the town and to see the old Saracenic fortress which dominates the city.

NISSIBIN-KIRKUK (Motor Convoy) *via* Mosul.

Depart Nissibin, Tuesday 7.30.

Arrive Mosul, Tuesday 15.30.

Depart Mosul, Wednesday 9 00.

Arrive Kirkuk, Wednesday 16.00.

	£	s.	d.
Fare (one class only) . . .	5	5	0
Board and lodging . . .	1	17	6

This part of the journey is done by motor convoys consisting of Ford cars, saloon and touring, with lorries for the baggage, run in connection with the train service by the Iraq State Railways. Food is provided en route. At Mosul there is a very good rest house, well equipped, with comfortable beds and water laid on in every bedroom. There is plenty of time during the afternoon and evening to see the town and to drive out to the ruins of Nineveh, which are on the opposite bank of the river.

The road from Nisibin to Mosul and on again to Kirkuk is quite good, except during the rains, and much less monotonous than the drive across the desert between Damascus and Baghdad. For many miles one sees snow-clad

mountain ranges away towards the north-east, and the convoys pass frequent Arab camps, camel caravans, and occasional little desert villages. In the springtime much of the country is quite green and covered with wild flowers. Towards Kirkuk, for quite a distance, the road is particularly good, with a tarred surface. Three passengers, besides the driver, are carried in each car. The drivers are a mixture of Kurds, Turks and Iraqis.

KIRKUK-BAGHDAD-BASRA.

Depart Kirkuk, Wednesday 18.33.

Arrive Baghdad, Thursday 6.57.

Depart Baghdad, Thursday 9.45.

Arrive Basra, Friday 6.35

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	8	2	9	4	13	0
Food . . .	2	0	0	2	0	0 (including Basra)

From Kirkuk to Baghdad is a night's journey. Though the Iraq Railways cannot be compared to the Simplon-Orient Express, travelling by them is quite comfortable. The carriages are roomy, on the Indian pattern, and bedding can be hired on the train. The carriages are not corridor, but there is a restaurant coach attached, and meals are timed to coincide with times of stopping at stations.

If one is travelling direct there are three hours only in Baghdad, which gives an opportunity of having a bath and a meal at one of the numerous hotels.

The last spell of the train journey, from Baghdad to Basra, is considered by most people to be the most trying part of the whole journey. The train seems to crawl across the flat, dusty desert, stopping incessantly at little way-side stations. It is here more than anywhere else that one needs a good supply of books to read, for there is nothing to break the monotonous view from the windows. Travellers with time to spare can break the journey by visiting Ur of the Chaldees, which is on the route, and coming on to Basra next day.

At Basra there is a large new rest house close to the station, which is very comfortable and well run, also belonging to the Iraq Railways.

BASRA-KARACHI (British-India Line) *via* Bushire.

Depart Basra, Saturday.

Arrive Karachi, Thursday morning (Bombay, Saturday).

	<i>First Class.</i>			<i>Second Class.</i>		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Fare . . .	22	0	0	15	0	0

The fast British-India mail-boats sail from Basra to Karachi, and on to Bombay, weekly; there is also a slow Gulf Service sailing once a fortnight from Basra, which calls at most of the Persian Gulf ports.

The motor convoys between Nissibin and Kirkuk run twice weekly, so in making a programme of the journey from London to Karachi it is necessary to take this into consideration, as well as the date on which the fast mail sails from Basra to Karachi.

All passport visas for the outward journey can be obtained in London, but on the return journey it is necessary to allow some time in which to obtain a

Turkish visa in Baghdad, unless one comes from a place where there is a Turkish Consul.

There is no difficulty over language, as at all times on the journey there are officials who speak English.

If one travels direct, tips and incidental expenses do not amount to much, the price of wine and spirits is not included in the cost of meals, but allowing for a moderate amount I should calculate that six or seven pounds would easily cover all incidental expenses.

By this route it takes fifteen days from London to reach Karachi. The cost first class is about £87 inclusive, or about £67 second class inclusive. Personally I recommend travelling second class up to Nissibin, and after that first class, assuming that economy is a consideration *

C DALRYMPLE BELGRAVE.

* Prices given on the early 1931 exchange basis.

THE NON-ARAB MINORITIES IN IRAQ

BY A. HORMUZD RASSAM

I DO not propose on this occasion to dwell on the ethnological and historical aspects of these races. My purpose is to deal with their present condition attained under a mandate from the League of Nations, and to explain the effect of what I consider will be the result of the lifting of that mandate, which we all hope will take place next year.

My association with my distinguished father, the late Hormuzd Rassam, and with the unending stream of his countrymen, Chaldeans and Assyrians, who never failed to call on him to pay their respects when in England, caused me to imbibe knowledge of my people from the days of my earliest recollections, and as my father to the end of his days strictly kept to certain Chaldean habits and customs my early life was spent in an Oriental atmosphere.

My father's last wish had been that I should carry on his Assyrian archaeological researches at and in the vicinity of Nineveh. No one who knows the country and its peoples can fail to realize that by reason of his descent there had been handed down to him from generation to generation certain information in regard to the ruins of the ancient cities of the Assyrians, which accounted for his prescience in the selection of those sites which afforded him such extraordinary success as an excavator. The results of his operations can be seen in the Assyrian Galleries of the British Museum. To me, in due course, were certain directions given, and I was eager to put them to a test. However, this was not to be yet. Living in the Arab quarter of Mosul, and associating with my own kith and kin, I realized more than ever what were the real conditions under which the minorities were existing, and that my duty was to the living and not to the dead. Therefore, I returned to London in June, 1930, and have since been engaged in championing their cause at Geneva, working most strictly in accordance with the rules and regulations of the League of Nations, of which the mandatory power over Iraq is the strongest supporter, and largely the originator. My letter to *The Times*, published on August 1, 1930, and that in the *Spectator* of August 9, 1930, gave full publicity to my intention.

Until the end of the Great War, the Mosul vilayet was ruled by the Turkish Empire, and its peoples were a conglomeration of races, amongst

whom the Arabs were in a minority. Far from the centre of government at Constantinople, no attempt was made to deal individually with the inhabitants—a central force was always ready to crush rebellion—and so far as possible the peoples were left alone and dealt with only through the heads of each tribe or millet and lived under their own laws and customs, unmolested so long as the tribute was duly paid and internal dissensions confined to themselves. Thus it came about that in 1918 the British, who had, by fortune of war, taken the place of the Turks as the rulers of the country, found extreme difficulty in evolving law and order. There could be no question of annexation or permanent occupation, and so, with the full approval of the League of Nations, Great Britain faced the difficult problem of the establishment of a Kingdom of Iraq under the mandatory system.

In June, 1920, His Majesty's Government announced the early setting up of a distinct Arab Government under an Arab ruler. Next, a Provisional Government was formed under the Naqib of Baghdad, to be replaced by a Government based on an Assembly elected by the people of Iraq, under an Arab ruler acceptable to the Assembly. In 1922 the present King Feisul, son of the Shereef of Mecca, King Hussein, was declared to be duly elected, and became the first hereditary monarch of the new Kingdom of Iraq, comprising the two former Turkish vilayets of Baghdad and Basra.

Meanwhile, the future of the Mosul vilayet lay in the balance. Occupied by British Forces after the Armistice, it became known as the "disputed territory," and it was not until late in 1925 that the League of Nations formally awarded this territory to the Kingdom of Iraq, with a revised northern boundary between Turkey and itself. When I arrived at Mosul in January, 1930, its peoples had had four years' experience of Iraqi government, and the first effects of the gradual relaxation of mandatory supervision of the internal administration were being felt. This experience had unfortunately not tended to make them anticipate with pleasure the termination of the Mandate in 1932, as had been officially announced in November, 1929.

I now propose to remark on the position of the minorities of the Mosul vilayet, of which I speak from personal knowledge thus brought up to date by living among them. There is no other way, in an Oriental country, by which truth can be arrived at, and any appearance of "authority"—that is, the possession of an official position with power of punishment—leads the people to adopt, either an attitude of "What you wish"—"as you say"—in the desire to ingratiate themselves, or one of sullen and inarticulate but smouldering resentment. This is why mahdbatas and petitions are rightly looked upon with disfavour. In such cases the only test of sincerity is knowledge that the signatories are aware that if their names are divulged to the local

authorities reprisals will inevitably follow, and that knowing this they are willing to take that personal risk.

It is quite impossible to give accurate numbers of the peoples of the Mosul vilayet; no census, in the sense that we use the word, has ever been taken, nor are the Arabs ever likely to be permitted to gain even such superficial administration in Southern Kurdistan as would permit the number of the Kurds to be ascertained. This difficulty is clearly shown in the report of the League of Nations Commission of 1924-25, and up to date it has been the custom of all parties to use such estimates as best support their contentions. The figures I now give are compiled from the verbal estimates of the religious heads, such as the patriarchs, checked so far as possible by official statistics obtained in Mosul and Baghdad and League of Nations publications.

In the Mosul vilayet, excluding Southern Kurdistan, there are (estimated):

<i>Moslems</i> :	Arabs	...	...	80,000	
	Kurds	...	...	80,000	
					160,000
<i>Christians</i> :	Chaldeans	.	.	54,000	
	Assyrians	..	.	40,000	
	Syrian Catholics	..	...	10,000	
	Sabaeans	...	.	10,000	
	Jacobites	...	.	12,000	
	Armenians		...	4 000	
	Various		..	2,000	
					132,000
<i>Yezidis</i>	...	...	.	40 000	
					40,000
<i>Jews</i>	...	...	..	10,000	
					10,000
					—
	Total		...		342,000

The location of these peoples can be described in general terms as follows:

In the town of Mosul, a mass of	...	...	60,000 Arabs.
In the nomadic districts, tribes of			20,000 Arabs.
In Jebel Sinjar, a mass of	..	...	20,000 Yezidis.
In a semicircle touching the borders of			
Southern Kurdistan, a total of	...	...	70,000 Kurds.
Inside this Kurdish ring, small towns and			
villages, containing a mixture of Kurds,			
Assyrians, Armenians, and others	...	...	45,000 various.
In the foothills and central plain, Christians,			
Jews, Yezidis, and others	...	...	127,000 various.
			—
Total	...	...	342,000

It will be observed that this distribution of the races interposes between the Turkish territories and the main body of Arabs well-defined belts of Iraqi Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians, and Yezidis; this arrangement has its advantages as ensuring to the Arabs "safety first."

So here in miniature form is the Mosul vilayet modelled on the lines

of former government of the Turkish Empire. In the town of Mosul lies the centre of government and the punitive forces. In the plains and foothills are its representatives, police, customs, but chiefly tax-gatherers. On the frontiers spasmodic warfare, now confined to occasional raids in accordance with local habits. At the extreme limits a wild, mountainous country, unconquered, and desirous of retaining its own administration, laws, language, and customs, and beyond the power of the Iraq Arabs to subdue. There is, however, this vital difference in the administration: whereas the Turk acknowledged and preserved the unity of, and dealt with, these different races through their own heads—patriarchs, aghas, sheikhs, etc.—the policy of the Iraq Government is to break down and eradicate all racial distinctions, and to deal directly with the individuals as Iraqis. Herein lies the cause of all the unrest in this territory and of the fear of the future when the mandatory régime has come to an end, and there will be no appeal from the actions of the Arabs in carrying out this policy with unfettered and increasing vigour.

If there is world-wide agreement that this policy is just, wise, and expedient in the interests of these various national entities, then all their protestations and petitions are unavailing, and while they exist they must forget pride of race, religions, language, laws, habits, and customs, and be content to gradually conform to those of the Arabs, and within a generation to have been merged in the ruling nationality. On the other hand, if the formation and constitution of the League of Nations truly represents the spirit and intentions of the nations of the world today, then the Iraq Government will not be permitted to carry out this policy, and provision will be made to preserve these racial entities and to legislate before approving of the termination of the Mandate in such manner that it will be impossible in the future to interfere with these peoples without coming into direct conflict with these nations who are now banded together to preserve peace in the world and justice to small nationalities. What form such provision should take is not a subject for this article. Suffice it to say that the whole question is now under the consideration of the League of Nations, the members of whose Council are well aware that however specious may be the offer of the Mandatory Power, with the words of Sir F. Humphreys, to accept moral responsibility for the result of future action on the part of the rulers of the Kingdom of Iraq, the Council itself retains in the eyes of the world the full legal as well as moral responsibility. They are therefore disinclined to give any decision at all until they are certain in their own minds and consciences that the proposals now made are in accordance with the spirit of the League, and not likely to bring irretrievable damage to the prestige of the League itself. Acceptance of moral responsibility has no value when dealing with mundane affairs, and it is

better to erect an effective railing at the top of a cliff than to provide ambulances at the bottom to render aid to those who have fallen down through lack of warning or safeguards.

In my opinion, and I give it with a full sense of the responsibility that lies on my unaided shoulders, there can never be contented and prosperous citizens of the Kingdom of Iraq, within the Mosul vilayet, unless due regard is taken to legislate for the preservation of the national racial entities of the population—these racial entities which up to the time of the assumption of responsible government by a Christian Power through the fortunes of war had been encouraged to preserve their national existence.

Of the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra I cannot speak with such complete knowledge, and categorical statements made from knowledge gained during flying visits, or by interviews with “invited” persons, are dangerous. For example, if the aspirations of the Iraqi officials who were of the so-called “National” party, when I left Mosul in June last year, truly represent their feelings and aims, then I should say that now they know from the published minutes of the evidence given before the Permanent Mandates Commission in June this year that it is the intention of Great Britain not to use their forces which will remain in Iraq after the lifting of the mandate to assist the Iraqi Government to put down internal disorder, they will try to carry out their plan to supersede the present ministers. As expressed to me, they regard these officials as aliens and interlopers who ought not to be allowed to govern the native Iraqis, and extract from them the salaries and emoluments of office. The leading spirits of the “Nationalists” were looking forward to 1932 as the time when the true Iraqi patriots could come into their own. Whether that spirit still obtains, I cannot say.

In conclusion, I may sum up my appreciation of the future position of the Kingdom of Iraq, after the Mandate is lifted, in this way.

The tenure of King Feisul and the two or three hundred ministers and officials who now form the real Government of the country will be precarious. The majority are not of the land, and their authority rests on force. Once the loyalty of that force is sapped, they will be fortunate to escape with their lives.

With the removal of the restraining power of the British Forces, the ancient feuds between the Shiah and Sunnis may at any time be renewed—most probably on the question of taxation. This would plunge the central part of the kingdom into civil war.

The Kurds will never consent to personal government by Arabs, and the latter can never conquer them by force of arms. It is most desirable that these basic facts should be faced, and the opportunity taken NOW to give them real self-government within the Kingdom of Iraq. This, as their latest petition to the League of Nations shows, they are

willing to accept. But if this is not done (promises, unless effectively guaranteed, will not be accepted) before the Mandate terminates, there will always be tension and trouble, which will have the effect of consolidating the Kurdish tribes into taking united action.

I have gone fully into the position of the races in the Mosul vilayet. Wherever, as in this case, a minority governs a large majority, and attempts to deprive them of pride of nationality, with consequent interference in faiths, languages, education, laws and customs, there can be no peace. Speaking on behalf of these non-Moslem races, I can say with truth that their wish is to become loyal citizens of Iraq, provided their entities are preserved, as are those of the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

EL GLORIOSO TRIUNFO DE TRES MARTIRES ESPAÑOLES*

THE first nine chapters of the book give an account of the adventures and the eventual martyrdom of Friar Nicolas.

Friar Nicolas, who was born at Belmonte, in Portugal, about the year 1545, was brought up at Cubillan nearby. On growing up he went to Castille, and entered the order of St. Augustine. Being more inclined to charitable work than to study, he went as a missionary to Mexico and, later, to the Philippines.

After several years' successful work in the Philippines, he was sent on a mission to the head of the Order in Europe to plead for more workers to be sent out. As the journey via India was considered to be more practicable than by America, it was decided that he should go by that route. At this point we may quote the words of the author *in extenso* :

Leaving Manila (which is the capital of the Philippines), Friar Nicolas travelled via Malacca and reached the city of Goa in the year 1598, in which it happened that the vessels which were wont to come from Portugal did not arrive. This the Friar particularly regretted, because he would be compelled to postpone his journey till the following year, which was allowed neither by the necessity which had brought him from the Philippines nor by his desire to accomplish it earlier. He therefore decided to travel by land, as the sea route was seen to be impossible. At that time there was not the communication with Persia which we have today (1623), nor was that route as easy as it is now. However, the (Friar's) desire to go to Europe overcame all difficulties, and God, who had predestined him for so much glory, knew how to provide the means most suitable (for him) to reach it ; and thus he had in his favour the Count de Vidiguera, Admiral of India and Viceroy of it at that time. The most illustrious Friar Alexio de Menesses, Primate of India at that period, approved and favoured his aims, and having obtained what he needed for the journey, he (Friar Nicolas) left Goa in February, 1599, and in June of the same year arrived at the city of Isfahan (Aspan), formerly the capital of Parthia and today the metropolis of all Persia, where Shah Abbas (Abbas Rey) had his throne and court. At the beginning of his reign Shah Abbas showed extraordinary favour to foreigners, and most particularly to Christians (as we have said elsewhere), a circumstance which attracted many to his court. From one of these, a Venetian by nationality named Iacomo Faba, who was most intimate with him, he learnt of the Father's arrival, and summoned the latter to his presence and received him with much friendliness, showing pleasure at seeing him (which is not to be marvelled at since he was the first friar whom he had seen in his life), because, although the Father Friar, Simon de Morales (who has been spoken of elsewhere), had been in Persia, it was in the time of Muhammad Khudabanda (Mahamet Codabanda), his father, when this Abbas, who succeeded him, was at Coracone († Khurasán), and did not see him, and now, as of a novelty, rejoiced at what he saw.

Shah Abbas summoned him many times, listening to him with good will, and, which is very curious, putting many questions to him as to his mode of

* *El Glorioso Triunfo de Tres Martires Españoles*. Dos Portugueses, y frailes de la Orden de S. Augustin, y uno Castellano de Madrid. Madrid: for Juan Gonçalez. 1623. Translated by L. Lockhart.

living and some as to our faith, showing that he knew something of it (which he must have learnt from his wives who were Christian by race). One day, when in conversation, the Shah said: "Why are there no friars at my court, such as the Turk and the Moor have at theirs, when I am beyond comparison more friendly than they are to Christians?"

The Father was then ordered to send word as to the desire of this Prince for our friars to go to his kingdom, which he did by his letters, and so began the Persian enterprise in the history of which he played such a part.

A long while before, the two English brothers, Don Antonio and Don Roberto Cirley (Shirley), so well known in our books, had arrived at that court. Of these, Shah Abbas had chosen Antonio, who was the elder, to send him, as envoy, with a universal embassy to all the Christian princes, in company of one of his nobles, called Usen Alibegne (Uzun Ali Bey). As they were leaving for Muscovy, where the embassy had to begin, Father Nicolas wished to accompany them on the journey, it seeming to him to be safer to go in company with men who were Christians than to travel alone through the land of the Turks, with the intention of going in advance of them as they passed through Russia.

Father Nicolas made known his intention to the King, asking his leave to carry it out, which Shah Abbas willingly granted him. In addition to the letters which his ambassadors bore, he gave Father Nicolas, one to His Holiness and another to His Catholic Majesty, because, as the Father was determined to go in advance and reach their presence sooner, he wished them to be prepared, so that they should receive his ambassadors in better spirit. The Englishman, however, looked upon the matter in another light; it seemed to him that the Father would detract from the authority and importance of his embassy, for by arriving first in the presence of these two monarchs, and informing them of the wishes of the Persian, he would take all the benefit which he alone wished to obtain by means of the good tidings which he bore, and which, in his opinion, would be very well received by the Christian princes; but, hiding his feeling, he pretended to be well pleased with the company of Father Nicolas, being sure that in such a long journey opportunity would not be lacking to take his letters and even his life, and certain enough he obtained it, as he also struck the Moorish Ambassador; such was his wish to remain alone with the embassy in order that he alone might derive the benefit expected from it.

Then, being provided with the necessary supplies, they went by way of Gilan or Hyrcania, whence, travelling via the Caspian Sea, with its customary storms and perils, they arrived at the city of Astrakhan, which is the first or most southerly (city) of Russia, situated on the banks of the River Volga, whose waters retain their freshness although after a distance of 100 miles they mingle with those of the Caspian Sea, into which the Volga flows through seventy-two mouths.

De Gouvea (CHAPTER III.).—Don Antonio intends to kill Father Nicolas, who, free of his hands, is accused by him, imprisoned, and left in Russia.

The Persian King's Ambassadors were well received by the Governor of Astrakhan. After they had rested there for a few days he sent them to the court of the Grand Duke, which is the city of Moscow, from which all the province is now called Muscovy (Moscobia), although Russia is its proper name.

These two cities are about 300 miles (*sic*) distant from one another (the country) for the most part uninhabited, except by many beasts, which live in those extensive forests; and in the few places that there are the people are without culture and barbarous, very well trained in the chase, although not a few are skilled in thieving and robbing. For this reason, the usual way of going from one city to the other is by the River Volga, which is navigable from Astrakhan to a point very near Moscow. For those coming from Moscow, the journey is certain and rapid because they have the current in their favour, but it is very difficult for those who travel from Astrakhan to Moscow, through having to go against the current, which is very impetuous. Their boats are very large and very heavy, and they neither use nor can use sails, because the flow of the river will overcome all the favour of the wind. Thus it is necessary to tow the vessels, which lengthens the journey, since no more travelling is

done by sea than what the sailors do by land ; but this causes no annoyance, because while the sailors rest the travellers leave the vessels and amuse themselves on shore. This is what the Persian King's Ambassadors and Father Nicolas did many times, and one of these might have cost the latter his life. As the Englishman was endeavouring to kill him, he sought an occasion on which he could do so without his companions knowing anything of it. On a certain day the two were talking together apart from the others on the banks of the river, and went sufficiently far as to be beyond earshot. By chance the Moorish Ambassador went towards the same place without thinking that others had gone there in advance (but God guided him there in order to prevent the death of the blessed Father, because from eternity he had arranged that it should be more public and more honourable for his Church and of greater edification for the faithful). The Ambassador found the Father half dead in the hands of the Englishman and of some of his followers, who were drowning him in the river, and without doubt, had he arrived but a little later, he could have been of no avail, because he (the Father) already lacked strength even to get out from the river, much less to resist his adversaries, who, seeing the Ambassador coming, left him in the river and hid themselves among the trees.

Astonished at so great an evil act, the Moor rescued the Father from the river and caused him to be taken to the vessel, thenceforward treating him with more care, as he remembered how he would be praised by the King, his sovereign ; and the Moorish Ambassador himself related this event to me.

Father Nicolas proceeded with more caution and care for his person, having experienced the evilness and treachery of the Englishman ; but although he was able to escape from his hands, he could not do so from his deceptions.

As it should be known, the tyranny of the former Princes of Muscovy had introduced a custom which is most iniquitous and extremely oppressive, that is that none of their vassals can leave Russia without the express permission of the Duke, under pain (of forfeiture) of life, and that no foreigner who enters that country can ever leave it, but will pass his life in perpetual prison and rigorous confinement, without any hope of freedom. However, the merchants and ambassadors of the other Powers have permission, but neither the former nor the latter enjoy it absolutely, because they cannot go out into the streets without a guard and a permit, and all eventually live in prison, although theirs is a more honourable one, and they can return to their lands when (the Duke) allows them (to do so). This custom arose from the fear of the natives who on one side wage perpetual war with the Poles and on the other with the Tartars. Anyone who enters their land is thought to be a spy either of one or the other ; it is, therefore, necessary that he should suffer prison and captivity. As has been said, the cunning Shirley did not miss this opportunity, and in order that all might happen to his taste, others were added, which seemed to be valued by the measure of his desire (Heaven allowing to the evil their opportune days and appropriate hours for the carrying out of their damnable projects). It was mainly in order to avoid so dangerous a company that the Father left the Moorish Ambassador's society and that of Shirley, and took lodging in the house of the Doctor Pablo Milanés y Católico who, for his own purposes, was then residing in Muscovy, and celebrated in his house the sacrifice of the Mass, with the greatest consolation to himself and to other Catholics who had lacked this benefit for a long time. They confessed and took the sacrament, giving infinite thanks to so good a gentleman who came to visit them among a people so remote and hostile.

This (ceremony) was performed with some secrecy which was very necessary, but this could not be (in the following case) for, a daughter being born to Dr. Pablo, it was necessary that she should be baptized, and Father Nicolas baptized her, according to the Roman usage, eight days after her birth. This greatly aroused the perfidious Ruthenians against the Catholics, because in their condemned rites, the custom is not to baptize infants till they are forty days old, with other Greek ceremonies. In the capital there were, amongst the other merchants, some Englishmen who were great Lutherans and Calvinists ; these were on familiar terms with Shirley as their compatriot. These

informed him of the hatred which the Catholics had aroused among the Ruthenians, and that something was being hidden from them by the ambassadorial friar who lodged in that house (pointing to Father Nicolas). The Englishman, who was not stupid, came to the owners of the house and said to them that he regretted having brought with him any person who could cause annoyance to the least of the Ruthenians, and all the more to the Grand Duke, contravening their precepts and ancient customs. He continued that they knew that that daring friar was not an ambassador from the Persian, nor was it of importance to his service to take him in his company or to leave him. But (went on Shirley), he much disliked him, because, in addition to being a Papist, he was a Spaniard by birth, very bold and haughty as are the others.

The Ruthenians, seeing the blessed Father deprived of the favour of Don Antonio, whom they looked upon as the chief of the embassy (and he made himself be taken as such, for he exceeded above all in cunning), went to accuse him to the Duke, saying that a Latin priest (thus they contemptuously call Catholics) had entered his kingdom without his permission, and was holding services and baptizing in contravention of the customs and laws of Russia.

At that period Boris (Boricio), the son of Theodore, reigned over that country, who, adding to the fear (which in tyrants like him is very usual) the observation of his wicked and ancient customs, and without listening to the justice of the Father's case, sent him to the island of Solcastei or Soliskot, which is situated on the frontier of Muscovy and Norway, and (ordered him to be) delivered a prisoner to the Abbot of schismatic monks, who, although they are so ignorant that they cannot say who their founder was, appear, however, to be of the Order of St. Basil. Although their ignorance is so great, no less are the cruelty with which they treat against the Catholics and the obstinacy with which they embrace their schisms and heresies.

REVIEWS

Mesopotamia, 1917-19: A Clash of Loyalties. By Sir Arnold Wilson. Oxford University Press.

Those who have read Sir Arnold Wilson's first volume, "Loyalties"—and they must be many—have been looking forward to his second with considerable anticipation. They will not be disappointed in the "Clash of Loyalties," that secondary title which is the keynote—the somewhat bitter keynote—to this remarkable volume. A "Clash of Loyalties" is not quite the same type of book as Volume One. That was a racy, living and outspoken story of a remarkable three years' campaigning, ending in a joyous and resounding note of victory. The Turks were crushed, the army had risen from its miseries under competent leadership, Baghdad was in British hands, and our real trouble about to begin. The first few chapters, indeed, are in the vein of Volume One—more victories over the Turks, and more work for the political department in managing country that was extending behind us almost every week. That was all straightforward going, with such interesting concomitants as intensive cultivation, wisely stimulated to lessen the demand of the army on the Allied markets.

The vainness of the egregious but remarkable excursion of the Dunster force to Baku, in the laudable but quite impossible desire to put a screen between Bolshevism and Central Asia, is told in Sir Arnold Wilson's best vein—truth unvarnished, sheer common sense, and as much venom as would cover a threepennybit. We are shown the logistic and political, let alone military, futility of the conception, "all along" of neglecting wise old Lord Salisbury's maxim and adjuration to use a large-scale map. Horrible beyond belief are the details that Wilson here has to tell of the state that successive Turkish and Russian occupations of North Persia had brought the inhabitants of that normally smiling land, another of the unrecorded chapters that are best brought to light. "No traveller outside the town, no woman within, was safe from molestation at the hands of the Cossacks."

With Marshall's brilliant seizure of Mosul on the eve of the Armistice, as the result of Cobbe's and Cassel's determined execution of their orders, the note of movement changes. We now learn, without any of the fog of reticence, of the happenings while the "hot air" of the cryptograms of Wilson of Washington was poisoning the world from the laboratories of the Peace Conference. While Pan-Arab, Pan-Turk,

Pan-Moslem, and Pan-Bolshevist activities upset all the East, Wilson of Baghdad, working under the legal ægis of the military occupation and its commanders, was building with the desert sand a house which must be built, but of which no one could or would indicate the design or even dig a foundation.

The military authority was concerned with the protection of the country against the gathering Turkish clouds, against fierce unrest, both among Arabs and Kurds, due largely to the delays in Paris and the intrigues aforesaid. Into this the unco-ordinated enthusiasms of Miss Gertrude Bell, outside her legitimate duties in the Administration, were no inconsiderable embarrassment. The ghastly and entirely unnecessary Arab rebellion, which caused the loss of so many lives, and the despatch in 1920 of a fresh Army Corps to Mesopotamia, caused the death of a great many of those inestimable young political officers of whom Sir Arnold told us in Volume One, and who in the years succeeding the Armistice had a wider and more difficult task thrown on them. To this they responded in a remarkable manner, and in the days when the nation makes up its jewels they must never be forgotten. Of Sir Arnold's provisional building on shifting sand, with the interests of the people, and whatever form of government was to come, in the days when Sir Percy Cox had been sent off to Persia, we are told, with sufficient glare from the searchlights, to see the dark corners.

Wilson unfortunately cannot do himself justice, and that the reader must gather from the story. Fighting against at times extreme misrepresentation from those who must and should have known better, the Administration, whose hands were often tied, was doing most extremely well. When it pleased the Powers and the Government of the day to formulate, or it might even be said to hook up by chance from the fish-pond of fate, a policy which has been made to work, Sir Arnold and his officers were treated none too courteously by those whom they had served, and for whom they builded better than they knew.

Sir Arnold carries us through the warning troubles of 1919, warnings which were clearly put before both the War Office and His Majesty's Government, and the successful trampling out of Kurdish dementia, to the dark days of 1920. Sir Aylmer Haldane is none too lightly handled, but perhaps his own published views invited a riposte. The searchings for an Arab ruler, or even an expression of Arab opinion, that would produce a useful formula of government, before the days when the French kicked the good King Feisal into our hands from Damascus, are part of the lighter side of the book.

"A Clash of Loyalties" is a solid book of close on 400 pages of a large size. Apart from its vivid tale, it is in many ways the official history of the civil administration in a large occupied country, behind an army, working for the unparalleled period of over five years,

"On a cloth untrue, with a twisted cue, on elliptical billiard balls." It may interest those who study such incongruities to see British authority in Palestine almost encouraging the disastrous filibustering of Ramzan Shallash at Deir Ez Zor in 1919, or the pitiful tragedy of the destruction of His Majesty's representatives at El Afar, near Mosul, in 1920.

The military happenings of the 1920 rebellion are better told here than elsewhere; and Sir Arnold Wilson also takes occasion to bring to record the work of several of the ancillary departments of the army, to whom the official history has done but scant justice. Indeed, it has been said that the turning aside from the main story for this purpose has somewhat destroyed the structure of the book. Yet who would have it otherwise? In his first volume, "Loyalties," Sir Arnold has bent the sayings of the great Duke of Wellington to adorn and emphasize his points. In the "Clash of Loyalties" he has gone further afield, and brought many of the masters of assemblies as his witnesses and with shrewd effect, Master Oliver, the Lord Protector, joining in the broadcasting.

When Government was at last to happen on its policy, and Sir Percy Cox was released from Tehran, then Sir Arnold steps off the scene in which he had so long laboured, leaving some of his best young men dead. "A Clash of Loyalties" will remain as the history of these difficult times when the leaves of the trees were for the healing of the nations.

G. M.

The Indian Mutiny in Perspective. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O. 9" x 5½". Pp. xii + 276. Illustration and maps. London: Bell. 1931.

The book begins on a note of apology for a retraverse of ground so often explored. The apology is not needed, firstly, because Sir George MacMunn is so clear, effective, and picturesque a writer that no book of his could be other than welcome to a judicious reader, secondly, though much has been written of the Mutiny it is mostly fiction, of which only Mrs. Steel's "On the Face of the Waters" attains the first class, while the detailed continuous histories are few and dull. But there is a stronger reason still. In India the sky is lowering and the thunder rumbling. Comparison with a former tempest is not only permissible; it is urgently called for.

The accepted title is not wholly accurate. The area and the population affected were a smaller proportion of India than is generally realized. That which revolted was of the nature of a national and geographical entity, conventionally known to Indians as Hindustan, the country which throughout the ages has held priority among Indian peoples, the country of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, of Chandragupta and Asoka and Kanishka, and many centuries later of the Mogul Empire and the Courts of Delhi and Agra and Lucknow. Roughly it is what we now call the United Provinces and Behar. The people are a compact of Aryan and Dravidian and Semite and Tartar. The great feud of Hindu and Musalman smoulders and blazes as fiercely as anywhere. Yet there is a common patriotism of the Hindustani as

against other parts of India, and when this Hindustan revolted against the British, the bordering peoples, Sikhs, Jats, Nepalese, Rajputs, and Mahrattas, with a few exceptions, turned against it or stood neutral. So much for the word "Indian." As for "mutiny," that ceased to apply with technical correctness twenty-four hours after the outbreak. An indigenous Emperor with a shadowy title was set up in Delhi, and thenceforward what was mutiny should be regarded as civil war or rebellion.

We write of the "causes of the Mutiny" as if it were an abnormal event interrupting the natural order of things, a line of thought that misleads even now; but it would be strange if the domination of a few foreigners, of alien culture, religion, and habits of life, were permanently acquiesced in by a vast population, some of great intellectual capacity, some of warlike habit, and many of considerable self-conceit. There were grievances of course in plenty in the Sepoy army, as there were loyalties, of which Sir George writes sympathetically. The greased cartridge grievance was not wholly imaginary. But from these to mutiny is a long step. The military authorities were not principally to blame that a soldier's grumble blazed up into a rebellion affecting fifty million people. We must look beyond the civil government to the general temper of the British ruling classes. This in the early part of Victoria's reign was arrogance personified. Never had a ruling order enjoyed such success. Victory on land over an adversary who seemed more than mortal, countless victories at sea, victory over revolution at home, wonderful manufacturing and industrial achievements, vast wealth and world-wide dominion, all contributed. Even the improvement in morals had the same tendency, for Puritanism is by nature pharisaical. Lord Dalhousie, whom the Nana at Cawnpore specified as the prime enemy of Indians, embodied this spirit. The doctrine of lapse, the assertion of paramountcy, Macaulay's minute on education, refusal of the right of adoption, semi-compulsory evangelization, discouragement of heathenism and idolatry, prior claim in Government service to Eurasians and Christians, these were but the indices of a policy of racial and cultural domination which sowed the wind to reap the whirlwind. They were disavowed by the Queen's proclamation of 1858, and her memory has always been cherished by the masses of India.

Sir George's verdict on the British conduct of hostilities is in the main favourable. As to the courage shown there has never been any question. Three courses of action have, however, been greatly debated: the omission to pursue the Meerut mutineers when they made their desperate *coup* at Delhi the concentration on the siege of Delhi with forces obviously inadequate to carry the city, and the policy of pushing forward troops from land and sea bases as they came to hand without stopping to organize a complete army of reconquest. On all these Sir George makes out a good case for civil and military authorities, particularly the latter. Much of the criticism, he observes, is ill-judged; much of it suggests the retort known-at the card-table that it is easy to point out errors after seeing fifty-two cards. The idea that the Meerut garrison should have turned out in the dark of May 10 or the heat of May 11 to hunt scattered mutineers whose destination was unknown is convincingly refuted. As to the other policies, they were civil as much as military, and they were right. The keynote was that the British held the machinery of government. The rebels could not stop to organize a government as long as the spear-point threatened from the Ridge, and their internal dissensions made the end certain. As for the kindred policy of throwing troops to the front as available, that was justified by results. It certainly saved Lucknow. A bold rush by the besiegers could have carried the Resi-

dency entrenchments at any time, and would have done so had not the fighting element been drawn off by the various British advances from the south. Cawnpore might have been saved and perhaps would have been saved in the same way but for the treachery of the capitulation. Whether the treachery was planned or not is doubtful; Sir George apparently thinks not, but there is a point he has not noticed. The rebel soldiery, especially the Moslems, were almost openly in revolt against the Nana's incompetence and faint-heartedness, and he simply had to score something like a military success, if not by fair means then by foul. His success, such as it was, followed by the massacres, did as much as anything to ruin the rebel cause. Chiefs and fighters throughout India, waiting to see which way the cat would jump and ever driven by the instinct that draws outsiders into a fight, found themselves revolted by the Nana's cruelty and repelled by his pusillanimity. Many a waverer was so turned to the British side. Generally the action of British commanders would have commended itself to Nelson. "No captain," said the master of naval war, "can go wrong who lays his ship alongside an enemy." Whatever confusion there was in their general strategy, the British observed that rule.

What do we learn at the present crisis from the story of the Mutiny? One thing at least, that to oust the British Government, in the name of Dominion status or representative institutions or anything else, before an Indian Government commanding the assent of the great majority of the people, and organized on a basis of national consciousness, has come into being, must result in chaos and bloodshed. The second lesson is not to underrate the opposing forces. Our predecessors failed for a time to realize that the Bengal army was of one mind, and that the Hindustani country was behind them. And we are told that we have only to deal with a limited number of educated talkers, mostly high-caste Hindus, of unwarlike character, and, worst error of all, that the great mass of the peasantry are unmoved by political agitation, and indifferent to all but their cattle and their crops. In comparing those times with the present allowance must be made for difference of mentality. If today an Indian cantonment were to rise and after a few preliminary murders to proclaim an Indian Emperor, our instinct would be to make very stern speeches, to open negotiations, and to propose a conference. That scheme has its merits, but it would simply never have occurred to the men of 1857. Anyway, for interest in the past and guidance in the present Sir George MacMunn has given us a most valuable book. A. L. S.

The Indian Civil Service: 1601-1930. By L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. 8½"×5½". Pp. xiv+310. London: John Murray. 12s. net.

This book fills a gap that has long existed, for in spite of many references to the Indian Civil Service in the various histories of India, and much information on the work of its members in numerous books of reminiscences and memoirs, there has hitherto been no connected history of the service, and this Mr. O'Malley has now well supplied.

The origin of the service in the writers, factors, and merchants of the East India Company is traced, and it is shown how, even in the earliest years, their duties included much beyond those of mere mercantile agents. Very early all had to "acquire a knowledge of military discipline." In 1700 in Calcutta one of the Company's servants was appointed "to collect the rents and keep the three Black Towns in order." The evils resulting from the combination of

mercantile with administrative duties and of a nominal rate of pay that rendered other sources of income imperative are shown, and the gradual development of a well-paid service entirely divorced from mercantile pursuits under the administrations of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Cornwallis, traced in sufficient detail, so that by the end of the eighteenth century "paternal despotism had replaced selfish exploitation, and a Civil Service in the modern sense of the word had come into existence."

Then follows an account of what may well be termed the halcyon period of the Service, ending with 1914, the Mutiny and subsequent transfer of India to the Crown making very little difference. This period, and especially the earlier portion, was marked by many notable characters, not a few of whom, mainly district officers, are still remembered in their districts, such as W. A. Brooke, who served from 1769 to 1833; Jonathan Duncan, still remembered in Benares; Sir Frederick Lely, in Guzarat; G. W. Traill and Sir Henry Ramsay, in Kumaon; and many more. Nor is such honour confined to civilians; the memory of many a military officer still lives, as Colonel Grey, of Firozpur. The period, too, was marked by not a few tragedies. Thirty-three were killed in the Mutiny, and nine died of sickness or exposure, while two won the Victoria Cross—Ross Mangles, "who carried a wounded soldier five miles along a bullet-swept road," and Herwald Wake, for the defence of "the little house at Arrah."

A good account is given of the very varied work that fell to the civilian to carry out, and it is pointed out how very rarely between 1858 and 1914 were troops needed to quell disturbances, practically only for the Deccan dacoities in 1879, the Azamgarh riots in 1893 (and here they only had to show themselves), and a famine riot in Nagpur in 1896.

The varying rules regarding admission to the Service, training, leave, and pay are traced down to the present day. Subsequent to the time of Lord Cornwallis the chief changes have been the introduction of open competition and abolition of the Haileybury College in 1857 (it is interesting to note that the last survivor of the Haileybury civilians only died last year), and the introduction of simultaneous examinations in England and India in 1922.

During the War no less than two hundred members of the Service received commissions in the Indian Army, and many more were prevented from so doing by Government. Only twenty-nine new appointments were made during these years, during which the strain on the older men left behind to carry on the administration was great. The political history of these and subsequent years and the growth of the idea of self-government are sketched, as also the concomitant if not consequent increase in communal strife, for which "the shifting of the balance of power due to the reformed system of Government must be held responsible, and not any dereliction of duty on the part of the Civil Service and the Police." Contrast with the rare need for troops noted above the fact that in 1923 alone troops were called to the aid of the civil power no less than thirty-six times, and that in the five years, 1923-27, 450 persons were killed and 5,000 injured in communal riots.

Truly the "old days" are passed when the district officer stayed in one district for many years and toured leisurely throughout his charge, getting to know his people and gaining their confidence. Such officers are viewed with dislike by the Congress leaders, as one of the chief of these told an Indian friend of the reviewer *à propos* of his own efforts on these lines.

And what of the future? Changes were inevitable with the spread of education and rule by law, for the coexistence of personal influence and rule by law is an almost logical impossibility, and it can scarcely be disguised that

the personal influence of many officers was rather in spite of than in consequence of the law, people looking to the "hakim" for justice and not to the mechanical operation of the law. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were to "effect the substitution of the elected politician for the civilian as the guardian of the public interest," "to tear up by the roots the people's faith in the service as their representative, and to teach them that they must take their troubles to an elected representative." It is evident that there is no room in such a scheme for the Indian Civil Service of the past, nor would there be if Dominion Government, as existing in the present British Dominions, were a really practical possibility.

But completely overshadowing all such schemes is the *fact* of communal tension. So long as resolutions are passed such as that of the leading citizens of Multan (*vide The Times* of July 17, 1931) to the effect that "in view of the anti-Islamic activities of Hindus all over India, as evidenced by serious communal troubles, this meeting looks with alarm on the prospective changes in Indian Government, and urges on the Government that whatever other privileges the British Government may be pleased to accord to India, in the initial stages the European element in the Imperial Services should remain undiminished," and they are balanced by such requests as that of the Hindus of Sikandarabad (reported simultaneously) "imploing that a British official be posted to the town for their protection," there would seem likely to be ample need of the European.

The book ends with brief accounts of members of the Indian Civil Service who have distinguished themselves in other spheres of activity—Colonial Governorships, Commissions, inquiries, as Members of Parliament, etc., and in literature—and the list is not a short one.

The account is well balanced and restrained, perhaps too restrained for the general reader, but then it is a *history* of the Service. Perhaps someone some day will write the romance of the Indian Civil Service! C. A. S.

New Schools for Young India. By W. J. McKee. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. xxii + 435. Illustrations. North Carolina Press, U.S.A.

No student of rural welfare and economy, who has observed the work of Dr. McKee and his successor, Mr. Harper, at the Moga school in the Punjab, will doubt its great value as an educating and illuminating influence, both on the pupils of the school and on the staff of the education departments in India. The function of an official department is primarily to administer, introducing from time to time such modifications as may appear advisable in the accepted system. Adventure and experiment, at least in education and in an enormous country such as India, must be left largely to those enthusiasts official or non-official, who can apply to a limited area or a single institution their continuous and concentrated attention. It is by such means that the ideas of Froebel, Grundtvig, Macmillan, and Montessori in Europe were tested and adapted to more general application. The gibes, therefore, frequently hurled at the Education Department in India are only partially justified, and it is to Dr. McKee's credit that, while pointing to the rigidity and lifelessness which characterize (in unskilful hands) the Indian curriculum, he abstains from condemning the staff for failure to revolutionize it.

The contribution made to experience by the Moga school has brought about a marked and (let us hope) a lasting change in Indian educational method. The rigid was, under his guidance, made flexible, vitality was breathed into dry bones. The teachers' training school at Gakkhar, the rural

economy school at Gurgaon, and similar ventures at Narayanganj (Bombay) and elsewhere, are in themselves evidence of his wide influence. To remake and revivify the ordinary school in India will, however, demand a new type of rural schoolmaster, who can only be created slowly and patiently in the training institutions when these latter have been reformed. Time is needed, money is needed, and thousands of devoted and original leaders such as Dr. McKee. Will India grant the time and the money? Will she produce the leaders, men of self-restraint and vision, unselfish and not afraid to learn? They were found in Scandinavia, where they man the Folk High Schools; in England the call is now given by Sawston.

The kernel of Dr. McKee's wisdom lay in his versatile and sympathetic use of the Project system. To see the boys at work on their post-office, their hospital, their farm-plots, or their community shop was absolutely convincing to those who enjoyed the privilege. Not only was the school task a pleasure to every boy; it was also clearly expanding his mind from day to day, and filling him with tolerance and the sense of discipline. And these were not sons of sharp moneylenders, but boys of a depressed tribe, hitherto narrow in their outlook, miserable in their lack of aspiration. If Moga can bring to birth in their minds a conception of true democracy, a broad nationalism, and a spiritual view of life, interpreting and accepting without greed the triumph of science, the same result may be achieved by lesser men among castes and tribes possessing greater advantages. Liberty with moderation, self-development under wise guidance, and the fostering of a moral and spiritual sense of social responsibility are the main principles of Moga's educational doctrine, and while few will question their validity, their realization in practice by Dr. McKee is perhaps unique in India, and represents the greatest benefit conferred on that country by any American citizen.

It is therefore the more regrettable that Dr. McKee's book, describing with modesty his remarkable achievement, is difficult to read. It is too long, and even a reader who knows Moga and knows the Punjab must strain himself to reach the end. The arrangement is somewhat confusing; Part III, an account of social and economic conditions in the Punjab, should logically have been Part I. There are a few curious errors, such as (apparently) the use of the term Gurmukhi for a language and Hindi for a script, and the implication that the grain elevator at Lyallpur is other than a white elephant. No mention is made of the Rural Community Board or Councils, so eminently germane to the author's subject, and none of village guides, co-operative adult schools, rural libraries, or travelling propaganda vans. But, above all, the statistics and references are in many cases lamentably out of date. Dr. McKee's familiarity with educational literature in the Punjab seems to end with the year 1924; his co-operative data are similarly antique, and though he makes up-to-date quotations from Darling's "Punjabi Peasant" (1928), his village investigations are those of Lucas (1920) and Bhalla (1923), to the entire neglect of the activities of the Punjab Board of Economic Inquiry in subsequent years. Recent publications in India are not easily obtained in the United States of America, but authorship, backed by a well-known name, carries with it an obligation to overcome difficulties.

It would be ungracious to end on a note of adverse criticism. India has every reason to be grateful to Dr. McKee and his successor for their unselfish and distinguished work at Moga, and those educators who will study the book without regard to the defects indicated will find abundant material for thought and admiration.

C. F. S.

India Insistent. By Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.C.L. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5". Pp. viii + 117. Heinemann. 3s. 6d.

The statement of the case for caution in granting Home Rule to India has in some cases been too long and full. The retired administrator's mind is crammed with knowledge of his subject, which he finds it impossible to express in a moderate compass. Sir Harcourt Butler's little book has the merit of being brief, and such as the average man, with slight knowledge of India, can read and understand without exhausting himself—and we have to face the fact that this is what the average man demands. Sir Harcourt gives no more, and would not claim to give more, than his own opinion, but it is an opinion backed by forty years of Indian experience. He does not, except in the last chapter, attempt to argue, but simply states facts as he sees them, and, whether we agree with him or not, it is well to have the case plainly and concisely stated.

An account of the physical features of India and of the peoples, with their various customs, classes, and religions, is followed by a description of the Indian States, a history of the growth of British power, and an enumeration of the many conflicting interests represented at the Round Table. Sir Harcourt evidently does not regard Mr. Gandhi as an entirely ingenuous person. He concludes with a warning against a hasty surrender to the demands of a small but vocal educated class. The book is full of local touches, and every administrator will recognize incidents such as the claim of an Indian to special favours from the person who had previously punished him. The present reviewer had a precisely similar experience. But it may be held that Sir Harcourt, in common with many old servants of India, fails to realize not so much the merits of the educated classes as the extent to which they can now draw the masses, rural as well as urban, after them; and once that point has been reached, at which the peasant is prepared to believe what the urban politician tells him, there is such force behind the "insistence" of India that resistance becomes impossible without a degree of slaughter which modern minds will not accept. The well-wisher of the humbler classes can only steady the pace of self-government and seek to protect the weaker castes and tribes from the possible dangers of hastiness.

At one point Sir Harcourt appears to have slipped or laid himself open to misconstruction. The non-Brahman Government in Madras was surely not, as he seems to imply, a Government of untouchables, but of non-Brahman caste Hindus. It had, of course, the support of the depressed classes as being anti-Brahman. It is also inadvisable to describe in too plain terms the quality of the water drunk from village tanks or to give details of the atrocities committed by rioters in moments of fury. The facts are undeniable, but striking facts do not lose but gain force by *meiosis*.

This straightforward account of the Indian situation, as viewed by an able and experienced ex-Governor, is worthy of attention from every British citizen and from all Indians who are sufficiently open-minded to wish to hear the other side. Its publication at the present moment is particularly well timed.

C. F. S.

A Digest of the Evidence and Report of the Indian "Age of Consent" Committee. Vol. II. By Katherine Mayo. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 262. Cape. 7s. 6d.

To appreciate the value of this book, the reader must bear in mind that for the last twelve years a constant stream of Hindus has gone to the United States with the object of vilifying the Government of India. Their idea has

been to create a body of opinion in America which would be a substantial help in the activities of Congress.

Unfortunately this activity has been only known to few either in England or India, and very little effort has been made to combat it.

It is because of this campaign of vilification and deliberate misrepresentation that Indian opinion was so greatly upset by the publication of "Mother India." Three similar books had been published in India and had created no stir, but "Mother India," written by an American lady and published in America, was quite a different proposition.

It became the fashion for the Hindus touring America to deny the main facts shown up in "Mother India," and to affirm that child marriage was by no means common, and that Miss Mayo had greatly exaggerated the facts.

However, in 1928 the Age of Consent Committee toured India, and in 1929 they produced their report, and very nauseating is the reading thereof. The evidence given is very complete and unbiassed, and it will be impossible for anyone in future to deny the facts set out. The only conclusion that can be arrived at is that India will not be fit for self-government until these practices are stopped. This point of view was actually taken by some of the witnesses.

The number of people who will ever see the Committee Report are very few, and Miss Mayo has done a notable service in bringing out the salient points in Volume II. As a political and controversial book it is excellent, but the facts brought to light and discussed are so disgusting to Western minds that the reading of it is no pleasant task.

H. S.

Indien Kämpft! By Walter Bosshard. 8½"×5¾". Pp. xii+290. 68 illustrations. 1 sketch map showing the author's route. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroder. 1931.

Herr Walter Bosshard has made several trips to India during the last ten years, and in 1927-28 was a member of the late Herr Trinkler's Central Asian Expedition, which he described in his book, "Durch Tibet und Turkestan." His latest work, "Indien Kämpft!" is based on observations made during previous visits to India, but for the most part it is the immediate result of a motor tour undertaken for the *Münchener Illustrierte Zeitung* and a Berlin photographic firm, and carried out from February to October, 1930.

The author is careful to explain that the present work is no mere collection of old newspaper articles, but an independent record of his views on the "spiritual and political revolution in India." His journeyings in 1930 ranged from Bombay to Delhi and Patiala, back again to the west to see Gandhi's campaign, then to Calcutta via Allahabad and Benares; from Calcutta to Madras and Mysore, and then back to Bombay, with a final dash to Peshawar and Landi Kotal. He claims to have visited nearly ten thousand villages and towns, and to have conversed with five thousand persons, but admits that in a vast and anomalous country like India, another person might make the same journey and come to precisely opposite conclusions. He might indeed; he might, for instance, come to the conclusion that Sir Parshotamdas Thakurdas, though an important member of the mercantile community, was not a Parsi, and that the Agent to the Governor-General for the Punjab States was not identical with the Punjab Government. But these are minor points in a work of sustained merit. Herr Bosshard has read widely and quoted carefully. His experiences are all personal, and the interviews and conversations which appear in the book are obviously accurate records of what actually occurred. He does full justice to each side of a controversy, and endeavours

to form his opinion without any perverse pre-judgment. As a Swiss he has all the advantages of an impartial observer, and was often recognized and appealed to as such during the course of his travels. But his attitude, if neutral, is by no means merely benevolent. British and Indian officials and non-officials, Princes and politicians, all come under his lash, and since India is now a world problem, neither Europe nor America emerge scatheless. His criticism, however, is for the most part as salutary as it is well deserved.

Himself an organizer of no mean ability, he has but a poor opinion of Indian railway trains, hotels and dak bungalows. New Delhi, as the capital of India, is for him nothing but disillusionment—no opera, no business house, no cinema, no newspaper. But why should Herr Bosshard despair? Indians of the highest rank have been heard to compare New Delhi unfavourably with Versailles, and to sigh for the amenities of Swiss mountain resorts amid the beauties of Kashmir. Here is an obvious opening for Herr Bosshard's compatriots, if not for Herr Bosshard himself.

The photographs in the book are interesting, but the author's descriptive skill makes the ordinary illustration superfluous. No photograph could give a livelier impression of the Chamber of Princes or the Indian Parliament than we get from his graphic pen. The art and craft of the late President of the Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jinnah's sartorial perfection and impressive eloquence, Mr. Gandhi's inconsequences, and the white-haired dignity of the elder Nehru are "featured" with peculiar vividness. The figures move to the life; Herr Bosshard's dexterity as an interviewer supplies the voices, and the up-to-date presentment of "Political India in 1930" is complete.

Hardly less realistic are the descriptions of Tata's works at Jamshedpur, Mysore State and the Indo-French Colonies. Herr Bosshard, however, is no mere film producer. His shrewd observation strips the mask from the face of Indian politics. He notes that the Indian members of the Legislature are almost exclusively Europeanized Indians—a class, influential no doubt, but small in proportion to the population. They have adopted the democratic parliamentary life of Great Britain in form, but not in spirit. He can understand their desire to see the Legislature more emancipated and more powerful, but they must learn that they are not sent to Delhi for their own sake or for the sake of their oratory, but to represent in the first instance the millions of India outside Parliament. "Schein Parliament" is, he thinks, the right name for the Legislative Assembly. Penetrating the smoke screen of propaganda, he turns his searchlight on realities. He tells Mrs. Naidu that Gandhi's next conflict will be with the banias and moneylenders who suck the blood of the cultivator. He cannot see how the extravagant prices paid for illicitly manufactured salt can enable the peasant to buy his salt any cheaper. He wonders if Gandhi's followers are in earnest when they declare that they are ready to give their life for their Fatherland, and comes to the conclusion that only a few are really interested in the freedom of India; they are all dreaming of another world. As regards the Congress, Herr Bosshard is under no illusion whatever. "The influence of Congress," he says, "must not be overrated. The Nationalist Press and many European newspapers declare that the Congress has 300 millions behind it. This is very far from being the case. On the contrary, over India as a whole, the group holding these views—a chosen band, no doubt, belonging for the most part to the intelligentsia—is nevertheless small and diminishing. The Muslims, the Untouchables, and the cultivators, with a few exceptions, hold aloof from the Congress; they all fear the rise of a Hindu autocracy which might deny them the rights they have obtained under British rule. The development of the Congress in

certain cities, especially in Bombay, must not be taken as a criterion for the whole of India." Would that so clear and sound an appreciation of the Indian situation was as easy to find in the journalistic and political circles of Britain!

Second to none as a trained observer of modern politics, Herr Bosshard is perhaps on less solid ground when discussing the basic facts of India: the rival religions, the Untouchables, and the cultivator. He rarely quotes from original reports and statistics, but bases his views on the writings of the Abbé Dubois, on the recent Indian Year Books, or the works of Messrs. Darling and Strickland. But, after all, his fleeting visits could hardly provide the first-hand experience which these subjects demand. He has evidently no liking for Hinduism; Brahmins seem to him effeminate, selfish and intolerant, and their caste pride is not diminishing. They have set up a caste barrier against other races which they submerged, but resent the British doing the same to them. In fairness, however, it should be pointed out that the author's judgments appear to have been formed solely from his experience of the Hindus he met in cities and towns. He has little to say of the Rajput, of the Jat, or Maratha cultivator. He prefers Muslims as more manly. But nearly the whole of his chapter on the Indian Muhammadan is devoted to an interview with the late Muhammad Ali, hardly a typical representative of the stolid but eminently sane body of Muslims whose strength lies in the Central and Western Punjab, the Salt Range and Sindh. The map of the author's journeys shows that he made a detour avoiding these tracts—a not unnatural precaution considering the time of year. As a good Swiss who has put in his military service on the Gothard, he has an evident admiration for the tribes on the frontier and the troops which guard it.

Herr Bosshard is far from accepting unreservedly the picture, which the Nationalist flaunts before the world, of a poverty-stricken India oppressed by a Satanic Government. He devotes not the least interesting of his chapters to a most amusing description of the ignorance and carelessness which many American and European newspapers display in their treatment of Indian affairs. On the other hand, with his intimate knowledge of the journalistic world, he is able to expose the reckless and impertinent attitude of the Hindu Nationalist towards the Press of other nations. He dwells on the benefits conferred by the British connection. Railways, roads and canals have unified India, and made her a nation. At the same time Britain's mistakes should be realized. The unsuitable type of education provided by the Government has produced a literate proletariat, with no one to direct commerce or organize industry. In spite of canals and co-operative societies, agriculture and the peasant have never received adequate attention. The British Government is popular with the bulk of the rural population at present. But there is always the possibility of the Nationalists winning over the peasant to their side by specious promises. This contingency must be carefully guarded against. Failure on the part of the Nationalists to carry out their promises is bound to produce resentment among the rural population. The last and greatest service of Great Britain to India may well be to preserve her from the chaos which is bound to follow on this disillusionment.

Herr Bosshard's concluding chapter gives food for thought. No country of Western Europe, he thinks, can have any interest in the break-up of Britain's world power. Such a catastrophe would mean widespread complication and confusion. India's future is no longer a matter for Great Britain and India alone; and the Englishman in India must not alienate the sympathies of non-Britishers by his attitude of superiority. The aim of the Congress Party with their intensive press campaign of an "enslaved India"

is to isolate England from the rest of the world, and to win over America and the Continent to their side. But let there be no mistake ; India will not be content with shaking off the British yoke : she will make it as uncomfortable as possible for all white races.

Herr Bosshard's record of his Indian impressions takes us as far as October, 1930. An up-to-date sequel from the pen of so clear-sighted and humorous an observer would be gladly welcomed. But it is difficult to see what purpose is served by Herr Ludwig Ankenbrand's appendix to the present volume. The tone of factious triumph over the supposed discomfiture of England is in strong contrast to Herr Bosshard's fair-minded survey of a problem bristling with difficulties. The writer might well take to heart the lessons which Herr Bosshard seeks to drive home in his concluding chapter.

An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam. By Reuben Levy, M.A. Vol. I. Pp. x + 410. London : Williams and Norgate (for the Herbert Spencer trustees). £1 1s.

Mr. Levy's important and admirable book is, by intention, a continuation of Herbert Spencer's "Descriptive Sociology," and has been undertaken at the request of his trustees. It is to be completed in a second volume, which will cover the ground of provincial—and, later, independent—Islamic Governments, and of Islamic philosophy and science ; but to read the volume now before us with pleasure and without sense of incompleteness, it is by no means necessary to await its sequel. The work is well printed and produced (though printer's slips are not entirely lacking), provided with four helpful if familiar maps, a satisfying index, and a consistent transliteration. The lack of a date seems an unfortunate oversight ; and possibly a more detailed table of contents, or alternatively a more methodical sectioning of the chapters, would have been welcome.

The title chosen by Mr. Levy could stand not ineptly at the head of a number of quite dissimilar works. To one writer the Sociology of Islam would suggest one treatment and content, to others others. It would therefore be absurd to ask Mr Levy all that any writer could have included. He confines himself, with reasoned clarity, to his professed aim "to investigate" the Islamic "system of religion and its effect upon the life and organization of Moslem society."

This leads him, in the present volume, to consider in turn the grades of Islamic society, the status of women and children, the sources and scope of *fiqh*, and governmental conceptions and phenomena. Much of the ground is fairly familiar, in outline, to orientalists. Mr. Levy is too sound to wish to spring surprises upon his readers, and the nature of the subject excludes both sensational treatment and the production of revolutionary fresh evidence. But the survey of existing evidence has been extremely thorough, and the general reader will be gratified to find his own trusted authorities—Gibbon, Lane Poole, Dozy, Yule—quoted as confidentially as the most inaccessible German periodical. References to the recent Press, and to Mr. Levy's own first-hand observations in Islamic countries (notably Iraq and Persia), combine with a notably clear and effortless style to give the reader a good conceit of himself. He will, moreover, profit by his own occasional reactions against, here and there, a generalization which the need for brevity forces upon the author and which his moderation and detachment deprive of danger. Not everyone, for instance, will consider Istanbul today "a monument of Islam's past imperial greatness in Europe" (p. 50) ; nor agree that (p. 77) "no one who

is unable to boast of his genealogical connections in the tribe can ever hold command in it: and certainly no stranger can do so" (what of the Sa'duns themselves?); nor that (p. 100) "at the present time there are no sharp divisions in society nor any castes in Persia." But these are matters of opinion, and Mr. Levy's has been formed after an exhaustive, yet always humane, study of all the evidence.

Special reference should be made to the admirably proportioned account, which forms an introduction to this volume, of the outward spread of Islam: an account full of unstressed and significant comment which, perhaps more than any other chapter, will correct current misconceptions. There is great value also in the careful tracing of pre-Islamic usages in the system of Muhammad, upon whom and whose successors customs and beliefs of the *jahiliyah* were forced by popular conservatism, by expediency, and by their own inability to conceive the world otherwise. Justice is done to the inconsistencies in the new system which vexed and ultimately divided those upon whom it fell to base law and Government and ethics thereon—inconsistencies even in that small part of a full system which the limited knowledge and un-analytical mind of the Prophet enabled him to reveal. Many fundamentals were left entirely uncovered, almost puerile unessentials were laboured; and it is remarkable how much of accepted Islamic usage today has no Koranic authority.

What Mr. Levy does not do—it would require a volume devoted to each Islamic country to do it—is to trace, into modern times, the extent to which Islamic precept and rule has, in fact, been incorporated and remains imbedded in actual current law and society—the directions and local causes from which departure therefrom has come, the clash sooner or later of the *shara'* with modern codified law, of a seventh-century Arabian with later and foreign conceptions of society. Probably the second volume will be helpful on these matters, an account of which would do everything to bridge the gulf between the Islam of the scholar and that of the traveller and administrator (Mr. Levy has been all three).

Meanwhile, it is possible to commend the work before us as reaching a very high standard of scholarship, as eminently readable, and as likely to hold its place, a product of English orientalism at its best, for many years to come.

S. H. L.

In the Arabian Desert. Selected by Katherine McGiffert Wright from the works of Alois Musil. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiv+339. Illustrations and map. Jonathan Cape. 18s.

The Rwalla Beduins inhabit that part of the Northern Arabian steppe which is known as El Hamâd, together with the country surrounding it, as far as Damascus and Palmyra in the north, Taima in the south-west, the nearer borders of the Nafîd in the south, and the district known as El Wudyân, which slopes down to the Euphrates, in the east. In this territory, which is between 90,000 and 100,000 square miles in area, the Rwalla wander almost without pause. During November they trek from the Syrian border southward to the Jowf oases; in December, January, and February they are to be found in the southern extremity of the Hamâd; in March and April they move into its eastern and northern districts; and in June and July they return to their summer grazing grounds on the borders of Syria, where they usually continue to wander until the end of October.

The Hamâd itself is completely waterless in the summer season, from July to October inclusive. There is no well found anywhere in its 50,000

square miles of rock and sand. Wolves, hyenas, and foxes roam in its hot and arid spaces; gazelles, ostriches, and hares live their troubled lives in its stony valleys; vultures and hawks swoop like meteorites out of its skies; serpents slither amongst its sparse herbage; lizards draw lace-like patterns in its sands. These creatures never drink. But although the Hamád is waterless in summer, it is quite otherwise in winter. At the end of October or early in November heavy clouds from the Persian Gulf are blown over it, and rain falls on the parched soil. At this time the Rwalla Beduins, encamped in their summer quarters on the Syrian border, continually turn their eyes towards the south-east. The moment they see distant lightnings in the sky, scouts, mounted on swift dromedaries, are sent out to search for rain-pools in the Hamád. As soon as the rains have begun to fall the black tents are rolled up, the tent furniture and the pots and pans are bestowed in strong hair-cloth sacks, the burden camels are saddled, and all the gear of the Arabs is loaded upon them. Then with a final "We have resigned ourselves unto Allah" rumbling in their skinny throats, the nomads mount and ride forward into the stony wilderness. The joy of the wanderer lights up their grim, sun-blackened faces as they cry "Urge on! Urge on!" Their scouts come riding in to tell them which rainpools are full. Every khabra (rainpool) has its name, which is well known to every man and boy, woman and girl, in the tribe. The depressions are dotted about all over the Hamád. Some of them are several miles in length, others are no more than three or four yards. Not all of them become filled with water in any given year. In some years no rain at all falls on the country which drains into a khabra, and that water-hole remains dry. But at no great distance there will probably be another, which is well filled with the muddy fluid which the Beduin loves more than the clear water found in wells.

Soon after the rains have begun to fall the dry desert shrubs grow fresh and green, and scarcely two months have gone by before new grasses spring up all over the wide steppe, filling every rocky valley with a filmy growth of vegetation. Into this transformed wilderness the nomads drive their immense herds of camels. Later on, flocks of sheep and goats, creatures able to subsist for four or five days without water in winter, will be driven far into it also. In two or three months the camels grow fat with good feeding and abundance of water. Their humps rise like hair-covered domes. The young camels are born in the Hamád, and by the time the Arabs return, in May or June, to their summer grazing grounds, these calves will be three or four months old, and romping and gambolling together like colts.

The Beduins are needy men, starved men, the victims of a life-long hunger. Their minds are continually harassed by the importunities of their empty bellies. This, added to the wandering life which the search for pasture entails on him, makes the Arab both acquisitive and violent. Old men are seldom seen among them, for the Beduin who is stricken in years must continue to ride his camel in the daily march like a young man. When, on a certain day, he is unable to mount and ride, it is because he is dead. No disability less than this could have prevented him. His relatives wrap him in his linen gown, and bury him amongst the stones of the open wilderness. Then, without a backward glance, they ride away on the ceaseless quest for water and pasture.

When the Beduin has coffee to drink, bread to eat, and a sufficiency of water and grazing for his camels, he counts himself a fortunate and happy man. Perhaps he experiences his keenest sense of joy when he rides forth with a band of raiders to seek whom he may devour. His most bitter times

are in seasons of drought when the longed-for rain does not come. Then he drives his fainting camels hither and thither in the empty wilderness, seeking vainly for pasturage and water. Every day some of his exhausted beasts fall on the ground, groan a little, and die. With set face and straining eyes the wretched Beduin drives forward in the sunfire. All his life he has lived on the fringes of disaster, and he dares not to anger Allah or the sun by murmuring against the One or the other.

Does "In the Arabian Desert" give us a true and vivid picture of these men and of the manner of their lives? To the somewhat limited depths to which it penetrates it does give such a picture. The author has spent years in the aggregate in acquiring the knowledge which he has used in the writing of the several volumes of his travels published by the American Geographical Society. These volumes are full of valuable facts concerning Northern Arabia and its inhabitants.

The volume under review aims at being a popular account of some of the author's journeys in a form calculated to appeal to the general reader. Although it suffers from a lack of cohesion, it is a very readable book, and it gives rise to a distinct desire for more. Its chief defect, in my opinion, is that in some of the conversations Beduins are represented as making long speeches beautifully governed by the rules of logic. In these efforts the speaker seems to anticipate every conceivable difficulty, and every possible question, which might be expected to occur to the mind of an uninitiated European. While European readers will certainly gather much reliable information from these speeches, they will as certainly receive, or be obliged to repudiate, the idea that the Beduin Arabs marshal their facts, and impart them to their hearers, in the clear and concise manner of our popular lecturers. This is hardly the case. It usually requires several leading questions in order to elicit a single fact from a son of Ishmael.

The illustrations are interesting and the map is unusually clear. The publishers are to be congratulated on the production of a handsome volume.

ELDON RUTTER.

Passages from "Arabia Deserta." By Charles Doughty.* Selected by E. Garnett. 8½"×5½". Pp. 320; map. London: Cape. 1931. 4s. 6d.

This "new voice of an old friend" hails us strangely from behind the green and white dust-cover of Mr. Jonathan Cape's *Life and Letters* series. Uniform with the work of such diverse writers as André Siegfried, Katherine Mayo, and the late Aloysius Horn, *Passages from Arabia Deserta* is aptly dressed to catch many an eye which might never see—or, seeing, might shun—the sober bulk of the original book.

Mr. Edward Garnett, in putting together these selected passages, has followed a plan abandoned in 1906, when, with the author's consent, he prepared the abridged two-volume edition of *Arabia Deserta* published two years later by Messrs. Duckworth. That edition amounted to about half of the original, and though Mr. Garnett has been able to claim on its behalf a widening of the circle of Doughty's readers, it had the drawbacks of a compromise, retaining for the many the disadvantages of great length and a price insufficiently low, while depriving the few of one-half of what they wanted to read. This time the editor—or, rather, selector—and the publisher together have been able to do the job thoroughly. *Passages from Arabia Deserta* comes down in bulk to a quarter of the whole work, and in price to the remarkably low figure of 4s. 6d.

The task of selecting a quarter from Doughty's book must have been heavy (for there is no empty quarter in *Arabia Deserta*), but Mr. Garnett has chosen well. He has kept Khalil on the move, has not allowed him to cut back for more than a couple of pages to former wanderings in Transjordan, or to lie too long in the summer tents; nor has he permitted a second stay at Teyma or a second visit to Hayil.* If now and then the traveller takes a sudden unspecified leap (as from Zeyd's desert camp to the Mahuby tents on the Harra), it is the necessity of coming through in 130,000 words that is driving him on.

"My object," writes Mr. Garnett in his Introduction, "in selecting these passages is that for every old reader to whom *Arabia Deserta* is known there shall be five new readers, shortly, to whom *Passages* shall be a great experience, exciting not only wonder and admiration, but introducing to them a style consummate in its creative richness." The criterion, therefore, by which the editor would desire his work to be judged is the degree of his success in presenting a bundle of samples sufficiently cohesive to hang together as a single parcel, and representative enough to display to advantage in a limited space what Doughty has to offer. To this end the book must tell the story of the journey and show the traveller's literary powers in passages of variety as wide as possible, while preserving a due balance between the comparative lengths of the portions chosen.

It is interesting to see how this has been done. Wisely—perhaps inevitably—the editor dispenses with any division into chapters. Cross-headings, usually marking a break in *Arabia Deserta*, are freely used to relieve the continuity of the text. The manner in which the passages have been selected and the balance of different portions of the book, one against another, deserve attention. The start from Damascus and the journey with the Haj (20 pp.) bring us to the kella and the monuments (20 pp.). Sixty pages are allotted to the wanderings with the Fukara and earlier accounts of nomad life. Then, after a flying visit to the Aueyrid Harra, and the well-known description of Vesuvius in eruption, we cut through to the ride to Hayil (20 pp.) and the life and story of the Rashidian town (50 pp.). The precarious journey to Kheybar takes twenty pages, but the stock of Arabian lore gathered during Doughty's long captivity in that place finds no room in the sixteen pages assigned to the period of his stay. Next, we catch a glimpse of the second ride to Hayil, and of the subsequent passage to Boreyda, ten pages telling of the alarms of that inhospitable town. In half-a-dozen pages we read of the perilous ride to Aneyza, where four whole chapters of *Arabia Deserta* are represented by less than thirty pages. The desert journey to Ayn-es-Zeyma (16 pp.), culminating in the furious incidents of Salem and Fheyd (10 pp.), is followed by the traveller's brief ride to safety at Taif.

To all who are familiar with *Arabia Deserta*—and what reader of this JOURNAL is not?—the above will give the key to the manner in which Mr. Garnett has dressed the 300 pages which form his show-case. For general interest, some may regret the omission of the all but fatal quarrel with Mohammed Aly el Mahjub, or of some of the Kheybar stories: others may wish that more had been heard of the Nejumi himself, or of Zamil and the three Abdullahs of Aneyza. But it is so much easier to indicate matter for inclusion than to suggest which passages should be omitted in exchange, that only a very venturesome critic would attempt the task.

Besides, the editor's prime purpose is a literary purpose, and variety of

* Doughty's spelling of names is adopted in this review.

display has certainly been achieved. Admirers of *Arabia Deserta* will be glad that new readers are given so many of the most justly famous passages, including: "And low come down to Arabia, we are passed from known landmarks . . ." and "If after some shower the great drinkless cattle . . ."; the description of Vesuvius, already mentioned; and "Now longwhile our black booths had been built . . . the worsted booths leak to this fiery rain of sunny light . . ."—though unhappily a well-meaning compositor seems (p. 100) to have thought "fiery ray" a more fitting phrase!

From the literary point of view, Mr. Garnett has done well to refrain from seeking to fill the gaps in the narrative with fussy notes, explaining what has been omitted. Most readers new to Doughty, however, will be sufficiently interested in the book as a record of travel to try to follow his wanderings with the aid of the map provided—a task which would have been simplified if Doughty's track had been furnished with directional arrow-heads, and the map itself supplemented by a time-table of the journey, the corresponding dates being inserted at appropriate points in the text, where such are not already to be found in the narrative. In so far as it is a record of travel abbreviated for the purpose of appealing to a wider circle, this book takes its place beside the same publisher's recent edition of passages selected by Miss Katherine Wright from Mr. Alois Musil's Arabian travel books. For all the literary talent in which the general company of explorers abounds, it sometimes happens that each published volume is, in reality, two books interwoven—one for the expert and one for the ordinary reader—nor is Mr. Musil the only living traveller of whose works such can justly be said. This is not to imply that a serious traveller should write down to a "best-selling" level, but to indicate that in so many travel books literary material of general interest lies implicit, waiting only to be dug out for the ordinary reader's delight.

Mr. Cape, who, prompted by Colonel Lawrence, was responsible for the complete editions of *Arabia Deserta* published in 1921 and succeeding years, deserves congratulation no less than Mr. Garnett on this latest enterprise. The admirable format and typography of *Passages from Arabia Deserta* make easy, comfortable reading, and it is remarkable how true to itself the familiar language rings in this new home. Khalil (may his readers increase!) stands alone, undated as Hamlet in modern dress.

E. D.

Mustapha Kemal: Between Europe and Asia. By Dagobert von Mikusch. Translated by John Linton. London: William Heinemann, Ltd. 1931. 12s. 6d.

This is a cleverly constructed book, written in an easy style and, except for an occasional mistake, well translated. It should, however, be approached with a certain caution. The author's reference in the preface to the sources which he has used is conveniently vague. He has doubtless used materials which are available in European languages; he has also evidently gleaned what he can in conversation with members of the governing clique in Angora. He states that he has used Turkish documents, but it is hardly likely that he has done so in the original, for it would seem from his book that one limitation on his authority is his ignorance of Turkish. The greater number of Turkish names and words in the book are either mistranscribed or mistranslated, or both. The transliteration follows a continental method, and the mistakes in transcription must therefore be ascribed not to the translator but to the author himself. There are other inaccuracies, which hardly seem as if

they were due to mere carelessness ; thus, the conspiracy in Smyrna against Mustafa Kemal Pasha occurred in 1926, not 1927 (p. 371).

The author was ill-advised to describe his book as "a biography." Had he called it "a study" there might have been no quarrel with him, however its value was assessed ; but a biography it is not. The biographical portions can only be described as "skimpy." They could not be more ; the materials do not exist. The considerable length of the book is eked out with what is practically a study of Turkish politics since 1908 in their general lines. This is ground which is pretty unfamiliar to the general reader, and the author's book will furnish him with a fairly accurate view of the forces at work. He is writing from the Turkish point of view, and he not unfairly records the view which educated people in Turkey take of both movements and men. Some allowance must be made for a bias in favour of the hero, but the Ghazi Pasha's services to his country have been so great that it is not always possible to cavil at some belittlement (not directly expressed) of those whom he has succeeded to or swept aside. Indeed, it is often difficult for a foreigner to reconcile the undoubted admiration with which at certain periods his countrymen have regarded him with the violent opposition that has broken out from time to time in political circles, and this is a point of which we think the author gives a good impression. He is distinctly clear on the sources of the personal rivalries of Turkish politics, viewed, be it understood, from his hero's point of view.

But these things are not biography, nor as a study do they compose an impartial and complete view. The strictly biographical passages have the defects natural to biographies of living personages. The less admirable sides of the Ghazi Pasha's character are mentioned but glozed over ; perhaps it had been better not to refer to them at all. The author belauds the violence and dissimulation which he describes his hero as often employing. This attitude, of course, follows from the point of view which he has adopted as to the Ghazi Pasha's motives and as to the vital necessity of his success. The patriotism of the Ghazi Pasha cannot be doubted ; but he is one of those dominating figures, the strands of whose motives are never likely to be altogether disentangled. At any rate, to attempt to do so now would require a very much more extensive and exact investigation into the recollections of his opponents as well as of his partisans than the author has made. The amount which must be allowed for the partisan outlook of the book may be gauged by the fact that the author is fond of applying the adjective "Puritanic" to the governing clique in Angora, but perhaps he has not a very precise idea of what Puritanism was.

The book, skilfully written, may easily make a favourable impression on an uninformed reader, but it is quite a superficial work. The space is distributed in the wrong proportions. The author's hero exercised no influence on the course of events before the end of the war, but the author devotes a very great part of his book to an account of the movements of those times. On the other hand, he gives but a few pages to the really important movements of later years with which the Ghazi Pasha has been most intimately bound up. As a consecutive record the book breaks off with the events of 1925 ; only the barest skeleton of an account is given of the modern reforms introduced under the Ghazi Pasha's auspices. A serious investigation into the state of Turkey during the last seven years would be a matter of the greatest interest, and is one of the tasks proper to a biographer of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The author has preferred a few general remarks of the most commonplace character. His book must be pronounced to be a clever example of an undesirable type of journalism, the practitioners of which are content to beg all the important

questions and to eschew all serious investigations. It is a pity, for in the story of the Anatolian War of Independence and the personality of the Ghazi Pasha there is much to stir and interest the student, much which deserves treatment of a higher kind than it here receives. J. P.

Facets of the Chinese Question. By E. Manico Gull. 9"×5½". Pp. xxi+192. With illustrations and maps. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1931. 10s. 6d. net.

It is a remarkable fact that, although China today is one of the most severely criticized and one might almost say best-abused nations in the world—if judged by letters to *The Times* and the conversations in the morning rooms of Far Eastern clubs in London—yet such is the spell which the Chinese are able to cast over foreigners, and particularly over Englishmen, who have lived among them for any length of time, that so many of the latter feel impelled on their return home to write books about the country and its people, which are almost invariably couched in terms of sympathy if not of genuine liking. It is perhaps fortunate that the gift of making books is not given to all our friends from China, otherwise we should be obliged, as Mr. Pepps was on one occasion, to "fall to the furnishing of a closett" for our Chinese library.

We hasten to assure the author of *Facets of the Chinese Question* that his most interesting and scholarly work has, in our opinion, more than earned its right to be included in the "closett" aforesaid. We are only sorry that, owing to the unavoidable absence abroad of the two members of this Society best qualified to review a book of this description, the task should have fallen upon the present reviewer, who, although he has lived some years in China, is bound to confess that he has no more than a nodding acquaintance with the Chinese classics, and feels more at home with treatises and tariffs than with the intellectual and moral development of the Chinese people.

To the studies of Chinese life and character, made from varying angles or facets, which compose this book, the author brings several valuable qualifications. He has lived for some time in China—but not too long: he has been concerned in public affairs—but not too deeply: he has devoted much time to the study of the Chinese language and literature—but he has been saved from becoming a sinologue. Moreover, he possesses a knowledge of trade conditions in China which any Commercial Attaché might well envy, combined with, as Mr. Micawber once remarked of his young friend David Copperfield, "a capacity for getting up the classics to any extent." In this latter respect, the large number of quotations culled impartially from Chinese and Western literature, which serve to support and illustrate the author's arguments, may well be a source of embarrassment to the plain man or ordinary reader, who will feel keenly how much his education has been neglected when he finds he can hardly recognize a single one of them. The inferiority complex thus set up is not lessened when Mr. Gull uses some such polite phrase as, "The reader no doubt recalls the lines," when introducing a verse from a French poem, which the present reviewer, though in his youth the recipient of prizes for proficiency in the French language and literature, is ashamed to confess he never heard of! The quotation in question will be found on p. 84, and it would be interesting to know how many of Mr. Gull's readers can identify it.

And this brings us to one of the pitfalls, which the writer of a work of this kind may easily fall into, namely, that in attempting to do justice to an abstruse and complicated subject he may, while satisfying the intellectual demands of the High Brow—the term is used in its strictly Pickwickian sense—

be writing entirely above the head of the Plain Man who, being one of a large majority, will be mainly responsible for the successful circulation of the book. Into this pitfall Mr. Gull has, at least in some chapters of his book, almost inevitably fallen, but not too deeply. His head still remains above the ground; he remembers the Plain Man, stumbling painfully after him, and from time to time suddenly switches off from a learned discussion of the influence of the Chinese script on the Chinese character or the exact meaning of the term *Wu Wei*, to an entertaining account of a trip through the Bohea Hills or a race meeting in Mongolia. So let the Plain Man not despair of staying the course, but, skipping the small ditches and splashing through the big ones, he will arrive safely at the last chapter, where he will, we feel sure, be the first to admit that he has had a very pleasant run. He will find, moreover, that the flashes of humour and shrewd comments on men and things with which the book abounds will go far to light his way through some of the darker passages of Mr. Gull's careful analysis of the mentality of the Chinese people.

Having thus faithfully dealt with the author and the reader of this book, it may be expected that we shall now give some account of its contents. This we do not propose to do, at any rate in detail, partly because it would be impossible within the limits of this review to offer any reasoned comments on the great variety of subjects which the author touches on in this comparatively small volume, partly because we think the book is so good that people ought to read it and not be satisfied—as we fear most of us sometimes are—with reading a review of it in a magazine. Suffice it to say that the twelve chapters range from essays on the influence of Confucianism on modern Chinese life and thought, on the attitude of the Chinese towards things spiritual and things material, on their strange shortcomings in practical affairs and on the much-debated question of the position of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in the revolutionary movement, to a review of Russian policy in Mongolia and the part the Bolsheviks have played in recent happenings in China—all matters which the author deals with from a common-sense and, in some respects, novel point of view. These essays are interspersed with lighter descriptions of travel and adventure in various parts of China some years ago, with a charming account of the two capitals—Peking and Nanking—in which the writer draws attention to the extraordinary fascination which the former city has for all foreigners who have lived there. In this place he advances the ingenious, but debatable, theory that the Ming Emperor, Yung Lo, transferred the capital from Nanking to Peiping, as it was then called, owing to the attraction of Peking's clear blue skies and the view of the western hills from the city walls.

The Plain Man will say that the last two chapters on the Future of Shanghai and Other Issues and Some Inferences are the best, and with this view the reviewer, reluctantly compelled after reading the book to place himself in the P.M. category, is inclined to agree. In Chapter XI. Mr. Gull gives us a really excellent summary of the origin and development of the port of Shanghai, with special reference to the foreign settlements, in which he shows clearly how the present difficulties between foreigners and Chinese in regard to the administration of the settlements have gradually and almost inevitably arisen. He concludes the chapter on Shanghai with words which both foreign merchant and Chinese official might well take to heart:

“No country can expect to trade with China without Chinese goodwill. On the other hand, goodwill alone will not enable trade to be conducted. Trade requires mechanism. It requires not merely that we

should offer to China the things she wants at a price she can afford, but such conditions as will enable her merchants to take delivery, and enjoy possession, of the goods we export; our own manufacturers, shippers, and importers to receive, bank, and remit the money that is paid for them. The International Settlement has hitherto enabled these requirements to be fulfilled. The economic criterion of any proposals made for its future administration is, will they do the same?"

In Chapter XII. the author sums up the conclusions he has arrived at after viewing the Chinese question from its differing aspects, and the last paragraph may be quoted as defining his attitude towards the country and its people. Mr. Gull says (p. 192):

"I do maintain . . . that if China is not to become a disturber of the world's peace, the West has got to co-operate with her best elements, which are just as fearful of, and opposed to, her worst as we are. That to do this the first essential is to win their respect, and that the courses suggested above will help to do this. For respect will not be won by treating the Chinese mind as inferior to ours, or as being the same as ours; nor will it be won by weakness, sentimentality, or jockeying. It can only be won by unchallengeable sincerity, scientific, and sympathetic study of the country's language and modes of thought, courteous treatment of her people and, last but not least, by commingling our religious sense with hers, without self-righteousness and without ecclesiastical or racial pride."

With the above sentiments most of us who are interested in the development of friendly relations between Great Britain and China will be in hearty agreement, though some of us might like to add, as a rider, the suggestion that Chinese statesmen, more particularly those who are charged with the conduct of international affairs, would do well to bear in mind Confucius' definition of the term reciprocity, which is after all the essence of co-operation, quoted by Mr. Gull on p. 77:

"Confucius was asked, 'Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice in all one's life?' He answered, 'Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others.'"

In conclusion, we should like to express our gratitude to Mr. Gull and his publishers for the excellent get-up of this book. The volume is of handy size, light in weight, and the print is delightfully large and clear. The bright yellow binding, which will remind some of Mr. Gull's readers of hot afternoons spent in weary searches through Hertslet's "China Treaties," is in pleasant relief to the glaring red in which so many recent books on China have, no doubt unintentionally, been covered. And now having presented this little bouquet to author and publisher, may we enter a mild protest against the absence of a date, both from title page and author's preface? It is always annoying to take down a book from the library shelf and have to search for the date. In this case it will be found hidden away at the foot of a blank page and disguised in Roman numerals, which to many of us present the same difficulty as the typewriter did to the Scotchman!

H. H. F.

Through the Dragon's Eyes. By L. C. Arlington. Pp. lvii+348, with illustrations, many in colour, and a map. London: Constable and Co. Price 21s. net.

Mr. Arlington has placed the conscientious reviewer of this somewhat unusual but most interesting work in a quandary, because he has not produced one book, but several books treating of widely different subjects, all rolled into

entirely erroneous impression of the services rendered to his adopted country by that great Irishman by harping, chiefly in footnotes, on some of the minor failings to which all great administrators and men of action are liable to succumb.

The same may be said of Mr. Arlington's criticisms of the men who have followed Sir Robert Hart as Inspector-General of Customs, and his references to certain unfortunate incidents in which senior members of the Customs who are still alive were once concerned, are, we must frankly say, in bad taste. One cannot help feeling that Mr. Arlington's bitterness in regard to his superiors in the Customs Service is largely due to the hardships of his early life, followed by long years of drudgery in a department of the Customs—the "outdoor staff," as it is commonly called—where he must have felt that his ability and education—in particular his knowledge of the Chinese language—were wasted and unrecognized; and this impression is confirmed by the later chapters of his book, where he describes his more responsible and more congenial employment in the Postal Service. He joined the Chinese Posts in 1896, and after over thirty years' service in various parts of China, retired in 1929, being then Chinese Secretary of the Directorate-General of Posts, with the rank of Commissioner.

Mr. Arlington belongs to that small band of foreigners, mainly British, though he himself is an American, who, in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, often accompanied by actual danger to life and limb, helped to build up the Chinese Post Office from a small letter carrying department of the Chinese Customs to the great organization it is today, probably, having regard to the vast area it serves, one of the most important postal administrations in the world. His narrative of his experiences in Nanking, Changsha, Kueilin, and other places, which, as he remarks, always seemed to be storm centres during his stay there, makes most interesting reading, and if his comments on his superiors are characteristically outspoken and not always very favourable, they have perhaps more justification than his strictures on their colleagues in the Customs.

The remaining chapters dealing with Chinese Personalities and Miscellanea consist mainly of a *résumé* of Mr. Arlington's views and judgments on every aspect of the Chinese question, and for the reason that, as Mr. Arlington remarks in his Preface, "an onlooker of some fifty years is apt to see something of the game," are entitled to respect, although to some of us they may not always carry conviction. Mr. Arlington's selection, for instance, of that ill-assorted pair of *Tuchuns*, Marshals Yen Hsi Shan and Feng Yu Hsiang, not to mention that destructive genius Wang Ching Wei, as leading personalities of the day, may appear to many as an undeserved slur on the members of the present Nanking Government, who are doing their best to repair the havoc wrought in the body politic of China by the aforesaid "personalities."

Of the illustrations in colour of Chinese tortures, which form a feature of this book, we feel bound to say a word. It has frequently been remarked by foreign residents in China (and the author himself draws attention to the matter) that in spite of the number of books that have been written about the country and its people in recent years there still exists, more especially in England and America, the most surprising ignorance regarding the manners and customs of the Chinese. As a case in point may be mentioned an article in a recent issue of a magazine devoted to the interests of our dog friends in which the writer stated that the Chow dog was chiefly reared in China as a table delicacy, and in another place referred to dog flesh as a Chinese "food-

It can only be said of Mr. Arlington's criticisms of the Customs that he followed the advice of the Director-General of Customs, and attempted to secure a more equitable treatment in which superior members of the Customs were also included. When once this is said, we must frankly say, in fact, that one cannot help feeling that Mr. Arlington's bitterness in regard to his superiors in the Customs Service is largely due to the hardships of his early life, followed by long years of drudgery in a department of the Customs—the "outside staff," as it is commonly called—where he must have felt that his ability and education—in particular his knowledge of the Chinese language—were wasted and unrecognized; and this impression is confirmed by the latter chapters of his book, where he describes his more responsible and more congenial employment in the Postal Service. He joined the Chinese Posts in 1894, and after over thirty years' service in various parts of China, retired in 1923, being then Chinese Secretary of the Directorate-General of Posts, with the rank of Commissioner.

Mr. Arlington belongs to that small band of foreigners, mainly British, though he himself is an American, who, in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties, often accompanied by actual danger to life and limb, helped to build up the Chinese Post Office from a small letter-carrying department of the Chinese Customs to the great organization it is today, probably, having regard to the vast area it serves, one of the most important postal administrations in the world. His narrative of his experiences in Nanking, Changsha, Kueilin, and other places, which, as he remarks, always seemed to be storm centres during his stay there, makes most interesting reading, and if his comments on his superiors are characteristically outspoken and not always very favourable, they have perhaps more justification than his strictures on their colleagues in the Customs.

The remaining chapters dealing with Chinese Personalities and Miscellaneous consist mainly of a *résumé* of Mr. Arlington's views and judgments on every aspect of the Chinese question, and for the reason that, as Mr. Arlington remarks in his Preface, "an onlooker of some fifty years is apt to see something of the game," are entitled to respect, although to some of us they may not always carry conviction. Mr. Arlington's selection, for instance, of that ill-assorted pair of *Tuchuns*, Marshals Yen Hsi Shan and Feng Yu Hsiang, not to mention that destructive genius Wang Ching Wei, as leading personalities of the day, may appear to many as an undeserved slur on the members of the present Nanking Government, who are doing their best to repair the havoc wrought in the body politic of China by the aforesaid "personalities."

Of the illustrations in colour of Chinese tortures, which form a feature of this book, we feel bound to say a word. It has frequently been remarked by foreign residents in China (and the author himself draws attention to the matter) that in spite of the number of books that have been written about the country and its people in recent years there still exists, more especially in England and America, the most surprising ignorance regarding the life and character of the Chinese. As a case in point may be mentioned an article in a recent issue of a magazine devoted to the interests of our dog friends in which the writer stated that the Chow dog was which "lived in China as a domestic animal" and in another place referred to the "dog" as a "Chinese" without

staff." Mr. Arlington, obviously quite unwittingly, has added to these current misconceptions by including in his book a number of illustrations (to be exact, eleven out of twenty-four) showing various forms of Chinese torture, evidently authentic, as they are depicted by a Chinese artist. It is true that he explains that these forms of torture have now been abolished in China, and that he is careful to add under the title of each picture the words "Ching Period," but this will not, we fear, prevent the reader who may have no special knowledge of China from coming away with the impression that the inflicting of the most horrible tortures so simply and faithfully portrayed by the artist is still a common and everyday practice in that country.

Mr. Arlington's views on the foreign missionary question, which would appear to be as much a stumbling block to him as was King Charles's head to Mr. Dick, will hardly meet with general acceptance among foreigners who have lived in China. In drawing attention to the mistakes and shortcomings of individuals and individual bodies of missionaries he seems to us to ignore entirely the good and lasting work which missionaries in China, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have done in the past, and are doing today, for the Chinese people.

As we have pointed out, Mr. Arlington is an American citizen, but, if we may say so without offence, his book reveals him as a very typical Englishman, with a typically English outlook on life, with a keen sympathy for the "under-dog," and a hatred of oppression and injustice in any shape or form, be the victims Chinese or foreigners. Perhaps this is explained by his English, Scotch, and Irish forbears, of whom he tells us in the first lines of his Introduction!

In conclusion we should like to offer our congratulations to Mr. Arlington on having produced, at the age of over three score years and ten, a most readable and live volume of reminiscences of a well-spent life. H. H. F.

The Travels of an Alchemist: Being the Journey of the Taoist Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un from China to the Hindukush, at the Summons of Chingiz Khan. Recorded by his Disciple, Li Chih-ch'ang. Translated, with an Introduction, by Arthur Waley. Issued in the Broadway Travellers' Series, which is edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xi+166. Map. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., Broadway House, Carter Lane 1931. Price 10s. 6d.

This book, like the rest of its series, has an inviting appearance. It is well bound, printed in clear type on good paper, and is convenient to handle. A rough sketch-map of the route taken by the ancient and intrepid traveller who is its hero is provided, and the author writes a preface which, unlike most prefaces, supplies useful information to the reader. It informs him that there are two other books in Chinese that bear the same title as this one, or, if not literally the same, are written in our alphabet with the same letters, and so may easily be confused the one with the other. The other two books, having the same title, "Hsi Yu Chi," as this one, are the record of the journey of the famous Buddhist priest Hsuan-tsang to India, from whence he brought back more than 600 volumes of sacred books which were translated and became the scriptures of the Buddhist religion in China. The third is a kind of parody of the above, but is also valuable for its mystical expositions of Buddhist doctrines. The book which is the subject of this review is a plain matter-of-fact statement of a journey taken from Peking by the Taoist Patriarch, Ch'iu

Ch'ang-ch'un, for whom Chingiz Khan sent under the impression that the sage might communicate to him the secret of immortality. The record of the journey was written by the sage's disciple, Li Chih-ch'ang, who accompanied him on the journey. Born in 1148, the famous Taoist was seventy-one years of age when he set out on his journey to Karakorum, a journey which covered much more than 3,000 miles over the Mongolian deserts and across mountains covered with ice and snow. It says much for his physical vigour that he accomplished the journey, won the respect and admiration of the great Khan, and returned to die in peace in his own country.

Chingiz Khan, who summoned the famous alchemist to his presence, was one of the world's great—perhaps greatest—conquerors. Born the son of a petty Mongolian chief, he held in his hand at birth the sinister token of a clot of blood, and during his long life was responsible for the shedding of more blood than any man that ever lived. His dominating personality welded into a mighty machine the savage and ever warring tribes of Mongols, Tartars, Uighurs, Nuchens, etc. To this army Europeans have given the name of the "Golden Horde," and it conquered a vast territory from the China Sea to the Crimea and the Dnieper, and only the death, at an opportune moment, of the Mongol Emperor of China saved Europe from being overrun by Batu, the grandson of Chingiz, who hurried eastward to claim his share in the redistribution of territory consequent on this death.

It must always be a marvel how the Great Khan was able to make of his undisciplined rabble a weapon fit to overawe the world. But the Mongols at that date had two outstanding characteristics that made them good warriors. They were the best horsemen in the world. In their camps they lived on horseback. James Gilmour, who was a missionary in Mongolia, wrote that a wolf could distinguish a Mongol from a Chinese from as far as he could see him. If the traveller were a Chinese, the wolf stalked him; if a Mongol, he prudently left him alone. For when the cry of "wolf" was raised near a Mongol encampment it was the signal for the whole population to tumble forth of the tents. Every man, woman, and child grasped the first animal, horse, camel, or even bullock, that was at hand, and leaping on its bare back they went pell-mell after the wolf. If he escaped it was the kind of accident described in the Chinese proverb, "The blind cat catches a dead rat—pure luck." And the Mongol bowmen shot from horseback with deadly precision. Less than fifty years ago the writer saw Mongols and Chinese practising archery, and though these were degenerate Mongols, born and nurtured in the enervating climate of South China, they still had something of their ancestors' ancient fire left in them, and could lean from the saddle and pluck a whip from the ground without checking the horse's speed.

The translation of this book from the Chinese original has been carefully, even meticulously, done, and its accuracy leaves nothing to be desired. There is a printer's error on page 107, where "wire" is written for "wine," and there may be another, but the book is as nearly typographically perfect as is possible for a book of this kind to be.

The character of Chingiz, as set forth in this book, has nothing savage or bloodthirsty about it. His invitation to Ch'ang-ch'un to come to his court was couched in courteous terms, though, as Lord of the World, his slightest wish was a command. He sent with his messenger the golden tablet which was, with the Mongols, the same token as the King's signet ring in Medieval Europe. The person of the Taoist was guarded as carefully as though he had been of the blood royal, and the Khan listened to some plain truths by his visitor with a patience hardly to be expected from a despot.

Ch'in Ch'ang-ch'un himself appears to have been a person endowed with admirable common-sense with nothing of the charlatan about him. When setting out on his journey his disciples asked him, weeping, when they might expect to see him back.

"At first he would say no more than that if their hearts remained firmly fixed on the Tao they would surely see him again. But when they begged him to be more particular he saw that there was nothing for it but to tell them, and twice he said distinctly, 'I shall return in three years,' as indeed he did."

At one point of the journey they passed through some mountains, and a soldier of the escort "took occasion to tell the others that once in these mountains a spirit had cut off his back hair, which had much alarmed him. The Master made no comment on this."

(About fifty years ago a wave of terror passed over a great part of China and many queues were cut off, supposedly by evil spirits. The people who suffered this amputation were, like the soldier, greatly alarmed, but the epidemic died out of itself; but for a time it made the position of foreigners very unsafe, as the blame for queue cutting, with other nonsensical charges, was laid on their shoulders.)

During the heat of summer they travelled by night, which they found pleasant and agreeable, but the escort feared "that in the pitch darkness goblins and elves might bewitch us and were about to smear blood on the horses' heads, when the Master said to us, laughing, 'Do you not know that ghosts and evil spirits fly from honest men? If this is true of ordinary people the followers of Tao ought surely not to be afraid.'" Wise old Ch'ang-ch'un!

The Emperor received the Master with marked courtesy. He said, "Other rulers summoned you, but you would not go to them. And now you have come ten thousand li to see me. I take this as a high compliment."

The Master replied, "That I, a hermit of the mountains, should come at your Majesty's bidding was the will of Heaven."

Chingiz was delighted, then he asked him: "Adept, what medicine of long life have you brought me from afar?" This was, undoubtedly, the reason why the Great Khan had sent for the Taoist sage. He had the world at his feet, but old age would not be kept at bay. Taoism had "the pill of immortality," and Chingiz would fain learn the secret.

The whole philosophy of Taoism is based on alchemy. The ancient chemist with his crucibles and drugs was partly a truth seeker and partly a quack. He believed he could transmute cinnabar into gold, and, no doubt, often did refine impure masses of quartz and saw pure gold glistening in his retort: the same change as is now daily made in our great furnaces when rough pig iron is changed into tough and tempered steel. It seemed but a short step to believe that by a regimen of strict abstinence and purification of the body by drugs it would be possible to get rid of the grosser attributes of the flesh and to attain to an ethereal existence which would defy old age and death. Naturally, prayers and spells were part of the discipline, and so a religion was evolved that was half asceticism and half deception. It is likely, too, that to some enlightenment did come, as it came to Buddha sitting under the Bo tree, and as it comes still to devotees of many religions: a quickening of the faculties, an insight into essential truth, and a consequent inward calm that does make for tranquillity and a longer life.

"He asked life of Thee," said the Psalmist, "and Thou gavest it him—even length of days for ever."

And so the Master answered truthfully, "I have means of protecting life,

but no elixir that will prolong it." The Emperor was pleased with his candour, and had two tents for the Master and his disciples set up near his own.

But the Taoist sage was able to put his finger on the weak spot in the Khan's character. When leaving China at the commencement of his journey he found that a part of the cavalcade was a bevy of maidens selected for the Emperor's harem. He protested that he, "a hermit of the mountains," could not possibly travel in such company. Now in the august presence of the world's master he preached to him a sermon on continence: "The male we call Yang; his element is fire. The female we call Yin; her element is water. But Yin (the imperfect) can quench Yang (the perfect); water conquers fire. Man rises to heaven and becomes an immortal as a flame goes upward. But, if common people, who possess only one wife, can ruin themselves by excessive indulgence, what must happen to monarchs whose palaces are filled with concubines? I have read in the Tao Teh Ching that not to see things which arouse desire keeps the mind free from disorders. Once such things are seen it is hard indeed to exercise self-restraint. I would have you bear this in mind." The man who could use such plainness of speech when addressing the great Chingiz was worthy of being called a sage. Much more of such advice was tendered, and the monarch accepted it in all sincerity. The Master made his adieux and returned to his own country. By the Great Khan's orders he was escorted back with the same care as on the outward journey, though, as he confessed, he had no elixir to prolong life. He was not long back when sickness overtook him, and he wrote a poem beginning:

"Life and death are like morning and evening,
The transient form comes and vanishes, but the stream goes on
untroubled."

"He then went up to the Pao-hsuan hall, and returned to purity. A strange perfume filled to room."

And so ends the story of this remarkable episode in the life of the great slayer of men. Mr. Waley has caught something of the fragrance of the sage's passing and has enshrined it in his book, and there will be few readers who will not recognize in it the tale of two great men, at opposite poles from each other in their thought as in their stations of life, who met like ships that pass in the night, and each made a profound impression on the other. J. D.

The Report of the Commission to determine the Rights and Claims of Moslems and Jews in connection with the Western or Wailing Wall.

The Wailing Wall forms part of the western boundary of the Temple of Herod, and indeed the six lower courses of the wall are the actual stones of the Temple.

Here the Jews have been accustomed for centuries to bewail the departed glories of Judah. Tradition goes back as far as the authority of the Prophet Jeremiah that the Jews who remained in the Holy Land during the Babylonian Captivity were in the habit of worshipping on the ruins of the first Temple. They seem to have done the same after the two succeeding destructions, and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, in his visit to the Holy Land in A.D. 333, stated that "all Jews come once a year to this place, weeping and lamenting near a stone which remained of the Holy Temple." But there is clear evidence in the writings of several Jewish authors of the tenth and eleventh centuries that

the Jews repaired to the Wailing Wall for devotional purposes. The practice was always allowed under the Arabs and also under the Turks. In 1625 "arranged prayers" at the Wall are mentioned for the first time, and in 1840 a decree was issued by Ibrahim Pasha forbidding the Jews to pave the passage in front of the Wall, it being only permissible for them to visit it "as of old."

The Jews do not put forward any claim to possession of the Wall or of any part of it, but they hold that God's presence is intimately bound up with the actual Temple of Solomon and that this divine presence (*Shekinah*) has never departed from it. They demand, therefore, to be allowed to continue their services unmolested, and they contend (and here is the crucial point) that such appurtenances as benches, a screen for separating men from women, an Ark with scrolls of the Law, ritual lamps, a wash basin, etc., were common, and were allowed by the local authorities before the Great War.

On the part of the Moslems it has not been difficult to show that the Wall is Moslem property, being the western wall of the Haram esh Sherif, and that the Pavement on which the Jews congregate when worshipping is a Moslem Waqf. However, since the Balfour Declaration in 1917, the Moslems have laid stress upon the sacred character of both the Wall and the Pavement because of the tradition that the Prophet tethered his steed Buraq there on his celestial journey to the Haram esh Sherif, and in recent years they have begun to give the name Buraq to the Wall itself. It would further appear that as the Jews have endeavoured to increase their "appurtenances" at the Wall, so have the Moslems endeavoured to annoy them either on utilitarian or religious grounds. They have erected a new structure above the northern end of the Wall; they have converted a house at the southern end of the Pavement into a *zawiya*, near which has been fitted up a water-closet, while a new door opens up a thoroughfare from the Pavement to the *zawiya* and thence to the Haram esh Sherif. The worshippers have thus been interrupted by the passing of men and animals over the Pavement, to say nothing of the innovation of the turbulent movements of a *zikr* in the adjoining Moghraby quarter.

All these disputes and bickerings culminated in the disturbances of 1929 and the subsequent formation of a Royal Commission "to determine the rights and claims of Moslems and Jews in connection with the Western or Wailing Wall at Jerusalem." The Commission, consisting of three non-British members under the chairmanship of the former Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, held twenty-three meetings and interviewed fifty-two witnesses from both sides. Their conclusions and recommendation are more or less what might have been foreseen. The Wall and Pavement belong to the Moslems. To the Jews is the right by ancient usage to perform their services. Political demonstrations are forbidden, and the maintenance of the Wall and Pavement are allocated to the Government and Moslems respectively. This settled, the Commission defines in detail the "appurtenances" of worship to be permitted to the Jews (and here it is to be observed that amongst the articles prohibited are screens, which were one of the causes of trouble in 1929); recommends future structural alterations in the vicinity to be such as not to impair the right of the Jews of access to the Wall; recommends the closing of the thoroughfare door on Holy Days, and that a prohibition should be placed upon the driving of animals along the Pavement and upon the performance of the *zikr* during certain hours.

The Commission concludes with the hope that both Moslems and Jews will accept and respect the verdict. This will no doubt be the case as long as the military and police force in Jerusalem is kept up to the present strength.

The Report is well got up, and is furnished with plans of the Wailing Wall and adjacent areas.
J. W. A. Y.

Palestine. Department of Education, Annual Report, 1929-1930.

From the cover of this Report, which is surmounted by the Royal Arms, as used in the United Kingdom on papers presented to Parliament, we learn that it is printed at the Greek Convent Press, and on sale from the printing office in "Russian Buildings" in Jerusalem. These bald statements are a suitable introduction to the well-written, historical outline with which the Director of Education, Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.B.E., prefaces a valuable summary of the work of his Department, which absorbed last year 6.52 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Palestine Government, as compared with 7.51 per cent. in Iraq.

The outstanding feature of the Report is the variety of types of schools, and of instruction, with which it deals. Foreign organizations and religious bodies of half-a-dozen nationalities and twice as many persuasions are playing their part both in elementary and higher education. Religious education is nowhere neglected; arts and crafts are taught in technical schools, and agriculture is a recognized subject in all rural schools, whilst sports and athletics are actively encouraged and carefully organized.

The ample statistical tables show at a glance what proportions of both sexes of every age are under instruction, in town and country respectively, in the various types of schools, and what languages and other subjects are being taught.

It is interesting to contrast this admirably-written Report with the meagre information to be found in the Annual Report to the League of Nations in regard to Education in Iraq, where the tendency is to frown upon foreign and sectional schools, and on imported teachers, and to force the youth of the country on to an educational bed of Procrustes.

An encouraging feature of the Report is the close contact maintained by the Director with scholastic institutions in adjacent territories, including Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordan, Cyprus and Gibraltar, and the steady progress of boy scouts and girl guides and of other cultural activities. It is interesting to note that of the total correspondence received by the Director, about 42 per cent. was in English, 56 per cent. in Arabic, and 1.50 per cent. in Hebrew.

A. T. W.

The Egyptian Enigma, 1890-1928. By J. E. Marshall, late Judge in the Egyptian Court of Appeal. Pp. xiii+342. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". John Murray.

Those who know something of Egypt as residents, neighbours, or habitual visitors, will find much of interest in Judge Marshall's spirited account of his thirty-eight years' sojourn in the "Land of Paradox"; but it may perhaps be doubted whether they would recommend his impressions and judgments of men and matters as a reliable guide to readers without such knowledge. Nevertheless, he knows his Egypt well; his familiarity with the language, though acquired, as he himself tells us, rather late in the day for a Judge of the Native Tribunals, enabled him to form an intimate acquaintance with high and low; and his "position of detachment on the Bench" is evidenced by the impartiality with which he bestows his wholehearted criticisms on his own British colleagues in the Egyptian Administration no less than on the Egyptian ministers, pressmen, and peasants. Indeed, he candidly admits that in the

multiplication of British officials the despised Egyptians had a just grievance. His strictures, though often devastating, are, on the whole, good-humoured; and his portrait gallery is decorated by a collection of entertaining anecdotes.

The first half of the Judge's life in Egypt was spent under the régime of Lord Cromer; and the author has wisely made no attempt to record the history or politics of that great Proconsulate. As a sidelight on the narratives of Lord Cromer and Lord Milner, this account of his social and judicial experiences and the impressions which he formed of colleagues and acquaintances illuminates the more intimate side of life in Egypt; and where his criticisms may be thought unduly harsh, they can be corrected by reference to the records of those who wrote under a sense of wider responsibility. A glaring example of partiality in statement is his reference to the Denshawi incident, which he describes as an assault on some British officers "who had unwittingly shot some pigeons belonging to the villagers." While he does not scruple to pillory the proceedings of the Court and the presiding Judge for sentences which caused "the utter amazement and astonishment of the civilized world," he suppresses the vital fact that the "assault" resulted in the death of one and the grievous injury of two other British officers of the Army of Occupation. Misrepresentations of this kind, which can be checked, will necessarily make the reader cautious in accepting his account of the post-war political events which have not been recorded by writers of authority—as, for example, the daring suggestion that H.M.G.'s Declaration of Independence in February, 1922, was merely a failure to call the bluff of Sarwat Pasha and the moderate Nationalists.

Indeed, one cannot but regret that in the latter part of his book the author has devoted himself almost exclusively to political and constitutional questions in place of the judicial and social aspect of his life in Egypt. A reasoned discussion of questions from a point of view definitely unsympathetic to Egyptian aspirations might have had considerable value as a statement of one side of the case; but the writer's obvious bias against Lord Allenby, and the inconsistencies and inaccuracies of the argument, render him an unconvincing advocate even for those who would agree with him in principle. Thus he describes the well-known principle of secondary elections as "based on an electoral system in vogue amongst the Red Indians of North America"; and while he admits that "the indefensible privileges" which foreigners enjoy under the Capitulations "constitute a great and unjustifiable hindrance to the progress of the country," it appears that in his contribution to the deliberations of the Milner Commission he advocated their retention, even at a time when he had "some confidence that the Egyptians were not quite the hopelessly impossible people that they have since proved themselves to be." In his account of the various negotiations for a settlement he omits practically all mention of the Sudan, an attitude not uncharacteristic of many British officials and residents in Egypt; but in view of the importance attached to this question by both parties, and of the fact that this has proved the most difficult of all the issues involved, any criticism of the negotiations which ignores it cannot but betray an inadequate sense of proportion.

The reader will turn with some relief from this unconvincing philippic against British policy as represented in the person of Lord Allenby to the very proper tributes paid to his successor, Lord Lloyd. This book covers the first half only of Lord Lloyd's term of office, and furnishes a just appreciation of the masterly manner in which Lord Lloyd handled the successive crises with which he was faced. The dispute with Italy over the Western Frontier, the

conflict with the King over one of his favourites, the danger of Zaghlul's personal ambition based on his parliamentary supremacy, and the attempts of the Wafd to turn the Egyptian army into a political weapon and to fetter the action of the civil police in political disturbances, were all surmounted by statesmanship as firm as it was adroit and unprovocative. Though the author may find many unable to accept his condemnation of others, he will find few to cavil at his appreciation of this period of Lord Lloyd's administration.

N. G. D.

Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo. By Captain Basil Hall, R.N., F.R.S. (The Broadway Travellers Series.) 9" x 5½". Pp. 272. Illustrations. Routledge, 1931. 10s 6d.

Captain Basil Hall's "Fragments of Voyages and Travels" originally appeared in nine volumes, and, it being impossible to reprint the whole of the work, it was decided to select what seemed to be the most entertaining portion. They were written, so he tells us, "to engage the attention of those who, having entered the Service in less stirring times, find it difficult to gain experiences for themselves." The result was a graphic and entertaining picture of the Royal Navy a century ago, given by one who was a shrewd observer as well as a lover of his profession.

He was the second son of a remarkable man, Sir James Hall, of Dunglass, Haddingtonshire, who was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, and afterwards went over to Brienne, where he attended the military school and there met Napoleon Buonaparte. His son describes an interview with the ex Emperor at St. Helena in 1817, in the course of which the latter talked of his father as "the first Englishman he ever saw." Sir James had held advanced views, and in 1791 came into touch with many of the leaders of the Revolution. Later on he came to be described as one of "the most scientific of our country gentlemen," and his home in Edinburgh became a resort of the intellectual. Young Basil was, accordingly, brought up in a stimulating circle; hence his delight in observation and travel, which is so evident in his writings, and which was perhaps unusual in the average naval officer of his day. He joined the Navy in 1802, and, among other events, landed at Corunna, witnessed the battle, and assisted at the embarkation of Sir John Moore's troops. Here he probably first came into touch with his future chief, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, under whom he was to serve, when transferred to the East India Station. Sir Samuel Hood was a member of the family of the naval "fighting Hoods" of the eighteenth century, and one of Nelson's trusted Captains. Gifted with a fund of humour, an unbounded curiosity, and an inexhaustible love of adventure, he was a chief after Hall's own heart, and it was greatly thanks to him that Hall was able to indulge his taste for travel. The biographical introduction to the volume under notice, by Professor H. G. Rawlinson, is remarkably well done, and his account of the gallant Admiral, who died prematurely of malaria, caught while visiting Seringapatam, recalls, for the benefit of posterity, the memory of one of Nelson's "band of brothers."

Chapter I., describing his arrival and impressions of Bombay, is perhaps typical of the man, as it shows us his enthusiasm and love of travel and beauty, his capacity for observation and his unaffected joy in all he sees. Chapter II., his sketch of his chief, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with his concentrated keenness for all he undertakes, whether trivial or important, combined with the qualities that make a great naval leader, is delightful reading,

with its description of an alligator hunt from Trincomalee, arranged for the Admiral's benefit. Chapter III. describes a picnic party to the caves of Elephanta, near Bombay, where several days were spent in exploring and examining. An expedition in Ceylon to Canteley Lake, which his Admiral and he undertook, is described in Chapter IV. in vivid language, while Chapter V. instructs, with considerable humour, as to the way Europeans should live in the East, and lays down the precautions that he thinks necessary for preserving the health of men both ashore and afloat. His professional and technical interest in the construction of native-built canoes, rafts, etc., and of various nautical appliances, as used in various parts of the world, shows itself in Chapter V., while Chapter VI. is devoted to a graphic picture of landing through the surf at Madras. Chapter VII., on "hook swinging," as practised by certain sects of the Hindoos, and his comments on the need of the firm arm of authority to check this and similar practices—such as sutteeism and infanticide—reveals the author's humane but administrative mind.

It was Hall's good fortune to be able to make a land journey across the Peninsula, and in Chapter IX. we get an account of his trip from Madras to Bangalore, which he performed by the now obsolete method of being carried in a palankeen. His preparations for this undertaking are described with his usual enthusiasm, and, incidentally, we get his opinion as to the utility to a Naval Officer of a knowledge of foreign languages. "I would fain," he says, "see it established as an Admiralty Regulation that no midshipman should be allowed to pass for Lieutenant who, besides French, could not read or speak moderately well either Spanish, Italian, or Hindustani, the four great dialects with which naval men are most concerned." He admits that this rule would not be popular, but there could be no doubts as to its advantage to the public service. He passed through Mysore at the time of the Desseru Festival, which he describes at some length (Chapter X.), and his comments here on the relations between the East India Company and the Independent Princes, who, he remarks, are apt for long for more uncontrolled authority, are today especially interesting reading. Further incidents of the journey, including his impressions of Seringapatam, are described in Chapter XI. with remarkable vividness.

Chapter XII., the last in the book, gives an account of a trip that Hall made with his Admiral to Sumatra, and of a visit to the Sultan of Pontiana in Borneo, and here again comes out the zest and enthusiasm for travel of both the Chief and his subordinate. A trifling incident that occurred during the expedition brings back to the author some thoughts of the important services the Admiral had rendered to his country, and he gives an account of the dramatic escape out of Toulon of the frigate *Juno* that was under his command, of his courage and presence of mind during Nelson's rather unlucky attack on the town of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, and of the part he played in the Battle of the Nile.

Hall's description of the India of the early part of the last century, and of his travels, belong to the past, and the modern tourist can hardly hope to have his opportunities of seeing Indian life, but he will be lucky if he can bring into his travels that spirit of enquiry and that keen interest which this naval Captain displays in these various selected passages of his journal. The biographical touch—viz., the episodes in the life of one of the great sea-captains of the Napoleonic Wars, which may be new reading to many—adds to the vividness of his personal experiences, and makes up a volume which should appeal both to youthful readers and to those of riper years.

E. R.

The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602. Second Series, LXVII. London: Hakluyt Society. 1931.

The most interesting and valuable part of this volume, which is at least equal in these qualities to its predecessors, is Sir William Foster's introduction, which occupies the first forty pages or so. He introduces us to the writer of the manuscript which forms the basis of the present work—a young apprentice, who later became a member of the Drapers' Company. He was transferred in 1584 to Constantinople, where he served the English Ambassador; he visited Egypt and Syria, Algiers and Cyprus, but never penetrated further east than Damascus. He was a friend of Samuel Purchas, the author of a famous compendium of Eastern travel. He remained single all his life, "better likinge a free single life then with more welth to be subjected to wooman's humors."

An interesting sidelight on the commercial policy of the sixteenth century is afforded by the correspondence, alluded to by Sir W. Foster, between the Sultan of Turkey and Queen Elizabeth, who is revealed (1580) as definitely opposed to monopolies of, or concessions for, trade. She requests that the grant of facilities by the Sultan should apply not merely to the two or three merchants concerned, but to "all our subjects in generall."

Her action in this case is paralleled by the insertion in the Vintners' Charter in 1577 of the statement, doubtless very distasteful to the Company, to the effect that everyone was free "to pursue such lawful calling whereby he may gain his living, as is most agreeable to his choice or taste."

What would Queen Elizabeth think of the restrictions under which all classes, desirous of earning a living, labour today? A. T. W.

Troublous Times: Experiences in Bolshevik Russia and Turkestan.

By Captain A. H. Brun, Danish R.F.A. Pp. vii+238, with twenty-seven illustrations.

The Russian revolution and the development of the Bolshevist state have been so heavily written up during the past decade that the ordinary reader grows weary and suspicious of the subject; weary of attempts to explain this extraordinary upheaval, which only experts among Western Europeans can really understand; suspicious that each new book and article is some form of subtle propaganda.

Those who turn from "Troublous Times" in this spirit will do the author an injustice, and will neglect a narrative of unusual interest.

As a neutral, delegated in October, 1917, to help Austrian prisoners of war in the concentration camps of the Government-General of Turkestan, Captain Brun had a peculiarly fortunate opportunity of seeing not only the growth of the revolution in an almost forgotten corner of the Russian Empire, but of living in, and travelling about, one of the most interesting areas in all Central Asia.

Of Petrograd during the momentous weeks in which the Kerensky Government was overthrown and during which Lenin took control there is little to add to the many narratives published in half a dozen languages. It is all a turmoil of cruelty and destruction, wanton bloodshed and senseless arrests, culminating in complete confusion.

On the railway journey south from Petrograd the author comes into contact with a party of Russian soldiers, and is confronted with the riddle the solution of which lies in Russian history, in the nature of the country and in the national psychology. "The wistful, harmonious lines of song married to

melancholy old melodies, a beautiful illustration of the Russian national spirit as it still lives among the rural population of the country, rang out into the silent night and seized the imagination. Quite instinctively one drew a comparison between the rough, brutal, nay, wellnigh bestial behaviour of the same soldiers when under the orders of their revolutionary superiors, and the modest, tolerant, and pacific character of their inborn nature, so unmistakably demonstrated when singing the melodies of their homeland. Was it humanly possible to conciliate such contrasts? I asked myself. At such moments there was no doubt left in my mind but that the revolution was a condition *forced* upon the Russian rank and file, and that they would turn in opposition the moment they realized that their special interests were being mismanaged. . . . How, looking at it from a slightly different viewpoint, would it be possible to believe that some 140,000,000 people—the Russian peasants—were willing in the long run to submit to a tyranny wielded by a small group of relentless revolutionaries?"

In such comments the author presents the main features of the Russian problem, on which, despite scrutiny from every angle, the experts are loth to prophesy, and in the face of which the man in the street is frankly reduced to a sheep-like acceptance of the Press slogan.

Arrived in Tashkent in December, 1917, Captain Brun realized the overwhelming nature of his task. In the autumn of 1917 there were some 38,000 Austrian prisoners of war in Turkestan concentrated in about twenty-five camps and work stations, as far apart as Petrovsk in the north, Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, and Andijan in Ferghana, respectively 300, 900, and 250 miles by rail from H.Q. in Tashkent.

In these camps the prisoners were being allowed to waste away. The cemetery in the Troitsky Camp, near Tashkent, held 8,000 graves before its closing in 1916. The water supply of the Zolotaya Orda (Golden Horde) punishment camp was led for miles over sandy plains by hopelessly inadequate means, and the pigs belonging to the Camp Commandant disported in the drinking water channels.

Dirt, starvation, and disease, the result in part of unavoidable circumstances, in part of indifference to suffering, and in part to inefficiency—these were almost invariably the lot of prisoners of war at this time in Turkestan.

British survivors of Kut have told a similar story.

Money for relief purposes was very limited, and the obstruction of upstart Russian revolutionary officials incessant. Under the circumstances the only policy likely to produce results was one of bold and persistent bluff, made partly effective by frequent telegrams to Moscow and by the author's insistence on his importance as a nominee of the Danish Legation.

Though an astonishing improvement was effected in most of the camps, the policy of the Soviet officials in Tashkent brought it all to an end. They really presented to the prisoners two alternatives—namely, either to join the Soviet forces or to face, for an unlimited period, conditions so severe that survival was a desperate gamble.

Escape to Europe, fairly frequent earlier in the war, became almost impossible as physical condition deteriorated.

Of the many published narratives of the sufferings of prisoners during the Great War the story of these Austrians in Turkestan is one of the most tragic. How many are alive today? Perhaps a few thousands, mingled in the Sart, Kirghiz, and Turkoman populations.

The author found time, during numerous tours of inspection, to see historic remains and to mingle with representative people in a very mixed

and interesting population, and though handicapped by ignorance of the languages (even his knowledge of Russian was very limited), he has a ready perception and a happy way of summing up people and their manners.

The bazaars of Samarkand and Bokhara, the tomb of Timur and of his consort Kassina, are described in the admirable middle way between the detailed and learned and the sketchy guide-book style.

A comment on the significance of the Oriental design of today shows an original approach and interesting deduction :

"The Oriental art of the present day, when compared with the ancient art, seems to me to illustrate the retrograde development of the peoples. The perfectly wrought details stand to me as a criterion of all Oriental art ; the general effect, on the other hand, is apt to pall on one, owing to its endless, often rather insipid repetitions. . . .

"These carpets hailing from Asia Minor, and, maybe, Persia, and with the pattern radiating from a big circular design in the centre indicate the influence of European taste on the original old technique of the countries. Be this as it may, it is certain that the old Oriental art, and particularly the old architecture, has understood the secret of fusing the beauty of the details into an entirety supported by a leading idea, thus imparting to the finished article an artistic spirit of unity and purport. . . ."

The "Short Note on Turkestan" (Chapter V.) is an admirably abbreviated account of the province, the Sarts, Turkomans, and Kirghiz.

Reference is made to the exploits of Colonel F. M. Bailey and to the Indian troops facing the Bolsheviks in the region of Merv.

The spelling is in some cases unusual and inconsistent ; for instance : Timur lenk (p. 42), Timur-i-leng (p. 82); while General Malleeson is described as "Madison" (p. 136) and "Mallison" (p. 177).

A sketch map on the inside cover showing the location of camps, railways, and the chief towns would be helpful.

The twenty illustrations, from photographs by the author, are well chosen. H. P. T.

The Claims of the Armenians : Friends of Armenia.

This little pamphlet is an appeal to the British nation to assist the survivors of the ancient Armenian race. It outlines the relations existing between Great Britain and Armenia before and during the Great War, and gives an account of the relief work on which the Friends of Armenia Society in conjunction with the League of Nations is now engaged on behalf of these unfortunate people.

Few nations have had a more chequered history than Armenia. Their country formed a gateway between the East and West, and has formed the battleground of contending hosts since remote ages. It is only in comparatively recent times, however, that the so-called Armenian Question became a prominent factor in European politics.

After the capture of Constantinople in 1453, Mohammed II. organized the Christians into *millets* or separate religious communities under their own ecclesiastical chiefs, which gave them a recognized position under Turkish law. That the Armenians were known to the Turks as the Milleti Sadiz or faithful Millet, and that many of them occupied prominent positions in the Government, goes to show that their relations with the Turks were at one time satisfactory enough. As a Turkish writer has pointed out, if the Turks had always desired the destruction of the Armenians they could have

blotted them out in the sixteenth century, when the Empire was at the height of its power, and no one could have intervened to help them.

It cannot be denied that the attitude of the European Powers encouraged the Armenians into a conflict with the Turks, which was in the end to prove fatal to them.

The Turks complained, and not without reason, that the interest of the Powers in the Armenians and other Christians was not so altruistic as the world was led to believe, but was inspired largely by political motives. The chancelleries of Europe, they also stated, were always ready to listen to the Armenians' complaints without considering the Turkish point of view.

As a result of the Russo Turkish War of 1878, Russia occupied Turkish Armenia, including Kais and Erzerum. Great Britain, then obsessed with the fear of Russia, regarded this as a menace to her communications and influence with India. Lord Salisbury, our then Foreign Minister, expressed this attitude of mind in a despatch to Mr. Lazard when he wrote: "The presence of Russia in Turkish Armenia will make Western Asia look Russia-wards." By the secret convention of Cyprus, Lord Salisbury hoped to achieve the double purpose of checkmating Russia in Turkey and inducing the Sultan to undertake reforms "for the protection of the Christian and other subjects of the Porte." By the terms of this convention consuls were sent to Asia Minor to assist in carrying out the reforms. Had this plan of working *with* the Turks been persisted in, it is probable that in time some lasting good would have been achieved. But Beaconsfield's Government fell in 1880, and Gladstone, animated by a hatred of Islam in general and the Turk in particular, recalled our representatives. The Armenians had now come to look to Europe, and especially to Great Britain, for protection and assistance in realizing their dreams of a national revival. Revolutionary societies, so called, were formed, and Armenian emissaries carried on an active propaganda in the capitals of Europe. Abdul Hamid, fearful of the repercussions of the Armenian Movement, embarked on a policy of tyrannical repression and massacre, with what dreadful results the world is familiar.

During the World War the Turks resolved on the extermination of the Armenians, which was carried out with ruthless barbarity in 1915. They allege as an excuse the murder of Turkish prisoners by Armenians who were fighting on the side of Russia, though an underlying motive was, doubtless, to destroy the economic supremacy of the Armenians, leaving the field free to the German and the Turk.

The friends of Armenia have perhaps displayed more zeal than discretion in pursuit of their object. Vilification of the Turk, accompanied by excessive laudation of the Armenian, the constant appeal to racial and, above all, religious prejudice, while it exasperated their enemies, did little to further the Armenian cause. It should have been obvious that the protection of a small unarmed Christian community on the confines of a Moslem empire was a problem which involved careful handling and a clear appreciation of what it was practicable to achieve. Great Britain could never count on the support of the other Powers in her efforts at reform, and it was not possible for her to coerce Turkey without that support.

The Turks have now not only deprived themselves of an industrious and intelligent section of their community, but they have incurred the invincible hatred of the Armenian race. A consequence of this is shown by a recent article in *The Times* describing the serious anti-Turkish activities of the Armenians on the Soviet frontier.

Europe has persistently under-estimated the power and ability of the

Turk—a mistake which has led finally to the holocaust at Smyrna in 1922. Her efforts on behalf of the Christians have led to nothing but the virtual extermination of the Greek and Armenian communities in Asia Minor. Tenacious of their religion and customs, hardy and virile, possessed of great natural ability, this ancient race has surely a "title to survive," to quote the words of Sir Arnold Wilson in his Introduction.

It is hoped the appeal on their behalf will not pass unheeded. F. R.

GOLD, STERLING, AND THE PRICE LEVEL.

Politicians, Financiers, and Currency. By Sir John O. Miller, K.C.S.I., Hon. LL.D (Aber.). London: P. S. King and Son, Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

"A return to inflation is now the real danger. It holds out many attractive prospects, but inflation is a slippery slope on which only the most expert performers can keep their feet. The inexpert, like novices in the art of skiing, are only too likely to be swept into a crevasse or hurled over a precipice." When this book was published, the passage quoted from it (page 86) had the Cassandra-like ring which even the more intelligent section of the British public almost invariably discounts. Few things leave it colder than indication of potential danger perceived by a careful thinker. "No doubt, no doubt," the average man replies, "but at the moment the danger is remote, so why worry?" Now, of course, the danger is no longer remote: it is upon us, though Mr. Snowden believes that it can, and will be, fought off. "The pound will not go the way of the mark or the franc," he said in his broadcast address on the evening of September 21 last. "When about a fortnight ago I spoke of the danger of inflation," he explained, "I was referring to what might happen if we did not balance the Budget, and at the same time had to abandon the gold standard. I should have been very alarmed as to the consequences then, for in that case the Government would have had to borrow to meet current expenditure. With confidence destroyed it would very soon have found it impossible to borrow, and it would have been driven to inflate the currency—that is to say, to print more and more paper money in order to make ends meet." Yet, if our export trade does not increase, and our import trade is not curtailed; if the additional revenue which the Chancellor expects to get from new taxation falls short of his estimates; if, in short, notwithstanding economies and new taxes, the country fails to pay its way, what then?

One has sufficient sympathy for, and is sufficiently similar to, the average man to have no wish to follow up that question. To do so would, in fact, be unfair to this book, which is very far from attempting anything in the nature of sensational speculation. Analysis, not speculation, is its method—analysis preceded by modest, indeed over-modest, appreciation of the difficulties of the author's task in relation to his fitness to undertake it. "A Fool Rushes In," he puts over his first chapter, which, nevertheless, conducts the reader into the company of so well-known an authority as Mr. Irving Fisher, and helps to simplify his treatment of the Quantity Theory. A telling quotation from "the lamented *Westminster Gazette*" enables the author to show how much that theory needs study. A total increase in the various circulating media from £214,000,000 to £540,000,000, the paper averred, had little to do with increased cost of living. Sir John Miller proceeds to deal with this example of "wrong-headedness," and with the views and policy of the Cunliffe Committee, reprinting a section of a pamphlet in which he questioned the wisdom of returning to the pre-war gold standard.

The reprint and the chapters following it are well worth careful reading for a great many of the evils which Sir John Miller foresaw have actually come to pass. The real burden of the immense debt contracted by the country during the war has been more than doubled: relatively to the money available for effecting exchanges of the world's commodities, there has been over-production, while unemployment has gone up by leaps and bounds. That these evils have been accentuated by other than monetary causes—tariffs, for example—Sir John Miller would, one imagines, be the first to admit. Few, however, will, one thinks, disagree with his view that return to the pre-war gold standard has been the main cause.

Nor will many disagree with his conclusion that the surest protection against the consequences of both deflation and inflation is to be found in "the establishment now of a definite principle of currency morality—namely, that stability in the measure of value is essential to social justice, and that its maintenance is a duty which the State owes to the people." The question, however, remains: how is such a stability to be achieved? We are, once again, off the gold standard. Assuming we ever return to it, how are we to choose, and then to maintain, a parity synonymous with stability? It must be said in criticism of this very useful little book that it does not go very far in answering that question.

E. M. GULL.

India in Bondage. By Jabez T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D. New York: Lewis Copeland Company.

The Case for India. By Will Durant. New York: Simon and Schuster.

For good or ill, the world at large is taking a far closer interest in our Indian problem today than ever before. The striking personality of Mr. Gandhi has helped in this direction, and the gesture of the Round Table Conference has been a powerful stimulus. Although the solution of the problem is completely and exclusively our own business, we cannot but be sensitive, in a world which is becoming so rapidly international, to the goodwill of our neighbours. And among our neighbours America is immensely more important than any other, not only by virtue of kinship, but because she has problems of her own which in their degree are not dissimilar from ours in India. It is of special interest therefore to see something of the food on which public opinion in America is being fed. Here are two of the volumes which have recently been served up for its consumption. What weight they may carry it is difficult to estimate, but they are widely read and freely quoted. One of them is by a unitarian divine of obvious standing, especially in missionary circles, the other by a graduate of a Jesuit college, who is now an educationalist, lecturer, and writer on philosophy, determined that "not an American will be left to stand by in ignorant comfort while one-fifth of mankind is on Golgotha."

Dr. Sunderland's book is a straightforward study in malignity. He has visited India twice, and claims to have read everything of importance that, from any point of view, has been written about India, including the Imperial Gazetteer. He has also cultivated contact with Indian leaders such as Lajpat Rai, and he is an assiduous student of the Indian Press. In handling all these ingredients his recipe is simplicity itself: ignore, *in limine*, anything that is to England's credit; quote as gospel any saying of her declared enemies; rake in the gutters for every incident to her discredit; substitute irresponsible

gossip for the results of responsible enquiry ; distort history and invert facts ; add a sauce of unctuous righteousness ; and then dish up in 500 pages of declamation. He has been almost monotonously faithful to his plan. If he has read all that he claims, there has been no temporizing in his selection of authorities. No allusion is made, for example, to Bishop Whitehead's remarkable work on India. From cover to cover, there is not a word on any of the more recent books by men who have served, and been trusted by, India for a lifetime. Lord Ronaldshay's name appears once in a footnote, not for his classic studies of Indian character, but as an authority on the consumption of champagne at the Viceregal dinner-table. On the other hand, there is a perfect anthology culled from the writings of such people as Dr. Rutherford, disgruntled ex-officials like Sir Henry Cotton or Mr. Bernard Houghton, extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai and any anonymous scribbler in the anti-British Press. This is the sort of documentary evidence which Dr. Sunderland has collected for America's instruction.

Detailed criticism of the book is not an agreeable task. Its main thesis, however, is worth summarizing. India, it says, is a land of ancient culture and virility ; it was the only power which was able to turn Alexander the Great aside from his conquest of the world. It is now "held in forced bondage by foreign bayonets," and the bondage is the same as that of the negro slaves in the Southern States of America fifty years ago. The country is steadily getting poorer, and its people suffer from perpetual famine. They are "now struggling for their independence as their only hope of ever getting rid of the exploitation of their country, and therefore of their poverty and misery." This poverty is due to taxation, which is twice as heavy as in England,* to the destruction of Indian manufactures as a result of British rule, and to the enormous cost of the government. As items of the last type, he mentions the £100,000,000 which the Indian Assembly spontaneously voted by way of a war-gift to Great Britain, but his version is that the money was "forced, coerced, wrung from the Indian people." Akin to this revision of history is Dr. Sunderland's assurance that "one-half of what India pays every year in taxes goes out of the country, and is of no further service to those who have paid the taxes." And in precise elucidation he quotes a statement that Britain took £500,000,000 from India between 1875 and 1900. This statistical *tour de force* presumably means that, during the twenty-five years in question, India's remittances to the Secretary of State averaged £20,000,000 a year. That, of course, is quite possibly true, and every penny of the money can be accounted for, the greater part going in payment of interest for legitimate debt and in the purchase of railway material for the enrichment of the country.

Dr. Sunderland makes full play with the bad manners of many Englishmen in India, and rolls as a sweet morsel under his tongue every detail of the severities incidental to the suppression of the 1919 rising in the Punjab. Nor does he allow himself the weakness of recognizing that there is another side to each of his indictments. Our frequent rudeness and irritability brook no denial ; but surely there is some set-off in the sacrifices which have been made for the well-being of India by generations of English men and women. And, if martial law did rule for a time in the Punjab, it is permissible to recall the anarchy and barbarities which had rendered it necessary. From his catalogue of our crimes Dr. Sunderland passes on to complain that "Judge Rowlatt, the father of the outrageous Rowlatt Acts," was honoured and rewarded with a

* Mr. Snowden has just put taxation in Great Britain at £16 7s. 1d. per head. In India, according to the Statistical Abstract, it is 6s. 8d. per head. The disparity is still greater if taken in ratio to the average income.

K.C.S.I. Sir Sidney Rowlett, as everyone knows except Dr. Sunderland, had no responsibility for the Rowlett Acts; he was merely chairman of a commission which laid bare the ugly network of subterranean conspiracy and terrorism then spreading over the land, and which advised the establishment of special judicial tribunals for dealing with it. The Acts which were loosely known by his name were subsequently repealed; but, cries Dr. Sunderland, "were the people of India ever recompensed in any way for the terrible injustices and sufferings which they caused? or did the British Government ever acknowledge their injustices or make any kind of apology for them? No." His answer to his own rhetorical question is correct, but for the simple reason that the Acts were never enforced. So much for the "terrible sufferings and injustices" which swarm in these 500 pages.

The *obiter dicta* in this extraordinary book are equally elevating. Caste, we are told, has no relation to India's political life; it is only a ceremonial affair like the associations or guilds which abound in America; and both brahmans and *sudras* fill all grades of political office. Moslems and Hindus "are not naturally hostile," and it is the presence of the British in India "that is mainly responsible for such riots or other hostilities as exist." There are also strange and wonderful excursions into history. "The republican form of government in ancient India had a duration of at least a thousand years"; and on the strength of this discovery India becomes "the Mother of Republican America." This ought to make the Middle West safe for Dr. Sunderland. And for the American Irish also he has a kindly word. It is the "autocratic and imperialistic Englishmen batten[ing] on fat Indian pensions" who obstruct all political advance in England, who opposed woman suffrage, who maintain feudalism in the country, and were "the leaders in keeping Ireland so long in bondage." Fantasy and malignity could hardly go further.

Mr. Durant's book is the strangest mixture of good and evil. Its Chapter I. is pure vitriol, distilled from the worst features in Dr. Sunderland's book and the wild slanders quoted therein. There is hardly a page without its deliberate untruth, or the half truth, which is worse than a lie. Chapter II. is a summary of some of the many biographies of Mr. Gandhi. Chapter III. rakes up once more all the story of Amritsar and the Akali Sikhs, and embraces one of the most misleading accounts of Sir John Simon's report which have yet been perpetrated. "Less liberal than the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms," it is a "subtle proposal for the further disunion of India"; communal elections are continued as being "more indispensable than ever to the disunity of India"; and the proposed Federal Government is to include representatives of the Indian States for the reason that "these, being under native autocrats, do not want home-rule in India." From this farrago Mr. Durant passes in Chapter IV. to a tolerably fair statement of "the Case for England," and a good deal of rodomontade in reply; and finishes with a plea for dominion status with guarantees, or exactly what is being discussed at the Round Table. "For a long time to come," he adds, "India will need British aid against invasion, against land hungry native princes, and against religious fanaticism within." The moderation of the conclusion is some little atonement for the vicious travesty at the beginning; but prejudice and distortion predominate.

If these two volumes represent what the United States are being taught to believe about our work for India and the spirit of our Empire, then it is obviously time for those who value our honour and the cause of truth to concert measures for a very different educational campaign. MESTON.

NOTES

SIR AUREL STEIN AND THE FRENCH INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION.

SIR AUREL STEIN has expressed his admiration for the International Colonial Exhibition, at present held in Paris, and for its great promoter and director, Marshal Lyautey, in a scholarly and stimulating article printed in full in the *Asiatic Review*.

After giving a general outline he says: The Indian section, it is true, occupies but a modest pavilion among the array of great structures, including a permanent Colonial Museum, exhibition galleries, halls, etc., which, interspersed with ornamental gardens, places of entertainment, and the like, spreads itself over an area of more than 250 acres. Yet there is probably at the present day no other place to be found where the powerful influence exercised by the old civilization and art of India over great regions of Asia outside its own limits is presented to the eye in a more impressive fashion.

The vast extension of Indian cultural influences, from Central Asia in the north to tropical Indonesia in the south, and from the border lands of Persia to China and Japan, has been fully revealed to the world at large only during the last seventy years or so, and almost entirely through the researches of Western scholars. They have shown that ancient India was the radiating centre of a civilization which by its religious thought, its art and literature was destined two thousand years since to leave its mark on races wholly diverse and scattered over the greater part of Asia.

Yet India itself may be considered to have remained until quite recently unconscious of this its great rôle in the past. This curious fact can largely be attributed to those peculiar features of traditional Indian mentality which *inter alia* account for the fact that amidst the vast stores of Indian classical literature there are to be found but very scanty relics of what may be properly classed as written historical records.

However, the fertilizing contact with Western thought through modern education has made its effect felt in this direction also. Some knowledge of a "Greater India" is gradually being brought home now to a wider circle of the Indian public. It is bound to be justly pleasing to patriotic pride, and may be expected to command increasing attention.

Sir Aurel praises the careful, full-size reproductions of such magnificent architectural buildings as the main temple of Angkor Wat, where Hindu influence is so clearly shown in the details of sculpture and building, and he points out the same influences apparent in the examples of the work of the early craftsmen of Indo-China.

"The abundance of Sanskrit inscriptions, composed in true Indian classical style, have enabled French scholars for the last fifty years gradually to recover much of the history of those Khmer and Shan dynasties under which for centuries there flourished a civilization, in many ways essentially Hindu, in those distant lands of Farther India. At the same time their researches have thrown much light on the way in which that civilization was affected by

the potent influence of ancient China, the eastern neighbour of those lands. Apart from relations in language and race that influence made itself felt through the assertion of Chinese political power. Information about this is gathered from the historical records of China which here, as elsewhere in Asia, form a precious source of reliable historical information.

"But how that earlier and in many ways stronger Indian influence was carried across the seas, and perhaps by land also, through religious propaganda, trade, and other means we may never learn with any certainty. Indian literature, so rich in the spheres of philosophy, religious doctrine, poetry, and various sciences, unfortunately maintains complete silence about this notable cultural conquest just as it does about the same in the direction of Central Asia and the great islands of Indonesia. All that can be assumed with some confidence is that as far as the last-named field and Indo-China are concerned, that conquest emanated mainly from Southern India.

"And again the same influences are clearly shown in the exhibits in the Dutch East Indies section, part of which has unfortunately been destroyed by fire.

L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTREME ORIENT.

"It has already been stated that the realization of what may justly be described as 'Greater India' is the result of scholarly labours reaching back scarcely further than the last two generations. If we leave aside the great region to the north-west and north, including Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Tibet, the main share in the work of elucidating the facts concerning that expansion of early Indian culture must be attributed chiefly to French scholars.

"It is an achievement of which France, that home of sound, critical methods in the fields of historical and antiquarian researches, may be proud, and a worthy accompaniment of its great past as a colonizing power. The work was begun by French scientific missions from the very time when French protectorates were first established on the coasts of Indochina in the third quarter of the last century. The study of the materials thus collected was the merit of a small but highly distinguished group of scholars working at Paris, among them that great Indologist, the late M. Barth.

"But the systematic organization of the work dates back only to the very end of the last century, when the *École française d'Extrême Orient* was established by M. Doumer, then the far-sighted Governor-General of Indo-China and now President of the French Republic. It was meant to assure the prosecution of those researches under the conditions most helpful to it—i.e., in the country itself. At the same time it was to provide also the organ for the careful preservation of the multitude of ruined temples and other monuments which attest the ancient civilization implanted in that soil.

"Created after the model of the great French schools of Rome and Athens, the *École française d'Extrême Orient* has under the direction of distinguished savants like MM. Finot, Foucher, Maitre, Coedes, rendered splendid services in both directions. With a staff strengthened by a steady flow of competent young French scholars, it has carried on researches of the greatest value for the history, languages, and archæology not merely of Indo-China, but of vast regions extending from India to China and Japan.

"On the archæological side the School has, by means of systematic conservation and excavation within the territories under French protection, recovered a series of magnificent monuments which, owing to the influence of a tropical climate and to other adverse conditions, were lying in ruins and exposed to

final destruction. Under its supervision a number of excellently planned and housed museums have been established at Hanoi, the capital of French Indochina, and at the chief places of the several provinces. All of them shelter an abundance of relics of ancient art. Being wisely provided with ethnographic sections, these museums in addition offer ample opportunity for the study of the development of local arts and crafts from the earliest stages to the present day.

"Special exhibits in the Arts Section of the Exhibition devoted to Indochina bring the results of these manifold activities of the *École française d'Extrême Orient* before the eyes of visitors. Others without going to Paris will find those results admirably summed up and illustrated in a special publication prepared by the *École* for the occasion of the Exhibition. It would be well if the Archaeological Survey of India, which, since its reorganization, due to Lord Curzon, has under Sir John Marshall's direction successfully carried on tasks corresponding to the archaeological side of the *École's* work, but extending over the much larger field presented by India, were in a not too distant future to be offered an opportunity to demonstrate the fruits of its labours in a similarly impressive fashion at the centre of the British Empire.

"Turning to the African portion of the far-flung colonial dominions of France as represented at the exhibition now open at Paris, Indian visitors would also find much to interest and instruct them. There in the coastal region extending from Tunis to Morocco Islamic civilization, which has so much enriched the artistic heritage of India, has produced some of its finest fruits in architecture and crafts. The sections of the Exhibition devoted to Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco contain reproductions of some of the most striking architectural objects surviving in those time-honoured seats of Muhammadan culture.

"But Morocco is the land in which this culture has escaped disturbing foreign influences, and there a fortunate dispensation of our time has assured the continued survival of indigenous crafts in their artistic and technical excellence. The merit for this is due to Marshal Lyautey, the great French proconsul of our times. While securing peace and ordered progress to Morocco during his long tenure of office as Resident General, he directed special attention also to the protection of its traditional arts and crafts. By his intimate knowledge of Oriental civilizations and his appreciation of their arts, he was predestined for this task in Morocco just as he is for his present functions as *Commissaire Générale* of the Colonial Exhibition."

He expresses the admiration we must all feel for Marshal Lyautey, and tells how that great administrator took thought to keep the deteriorating influence of shoddy away from the craftsmen of Morocco. "By a carefully planned and steadily pursued policy Marshal Lyautey succeeded in preserving the high standards of indigenous Moroccan craftsmanship in domestic architecture, woodcarving, textile manufacture, etc. This is not the place to detail the methods by which this happy result was attained, beneficial alike to the local producer and the Western lover of good art work. Encouragement given to the masters to maintain their traditional good taste and skill, protection afforded to the old guild system, strict exclusion of inferior materials and shoddy examples from the European market, have all played their part in this effective policy.

"The results thus attained may be judged by the superior merit of the products of modern Moroccan arts and crafts to be seen at the Exhibition. The prices which these products deservedly command among appreciative Western purchasers prove the economic benefits secured through Marshal

Lyautey's policy. They are aptly illustrated by the fact that the 'service des arts indigènes' established in Morocco which, through its French staff, supervises the activity of the guilds, the supply of sound materials to the craftsmen, the disposal of the products, etc., has for a long time been self-supporting."

And lastly, a suggestion: "It would be easy for the visitor who is conscious of the decay or complete extinction of many, if not most, of the art industries for which India was once famous to appreciate the lesson to be drawn from the Moroccan example. Unfortunately conditions may have 'progressed' too far for this example to be successfully followed on Indian soil. But probably it is not yet too late for an endeavour to be made in one portion or another of the great sub-continent by systematic encouragement, such as rulers of Indian States might afford, to save what superior skill and taste are still to be found among local art workers."

If this suggestion is followed up, as assuredly it will be in some measure, we must be grateful to Sir Aurel Stein for giving an added stimulus to the impression which must be made on all who have seen this most admirable Exhibition.

CHINESE CONTACT WITH LURISTAN BRONZES.

The influence of China on Persian art has often been discussed; in the *Burlington Magazine* for August, 1931, Mr. Perceval Yetts has an interesting article on Chinese Contact with Luristan Bronzes, in which he propounds a new and opposite theory. He writes: "Many writings have appeared on the Luristan bronzes; but, so far as I know, in none has the remark been made that possibly these bronzes reached China, and influenced the art of the Han period. The following note summarizes a theory which I discussed in lectures at the time of the Persian Exhibition and later in Sweden. At the *Ostasiatiska Samlingarna* in Stockholm, unexpectedly strong support for the theory was found among the amazingly significant collection of small bronzes which is one of the chief glories of the Museum."

Readers are referred to the *Magazine* for illustrations of the decorative motives which exemplify the contact. The chief motive is a creature called by Mr. Yetts the "attenuate feline." Many of the bronzes served as buckles and ornaments to straps and horse-trappings, and the way in which these bronzes came into China at the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D. 220) is given by Mr. Yetts as follows:

"A factor essential to the theory which links China with Luristan is the quest of the superior horse, and it happened thus. Several Han Emperors had suffered humiliating invasions by the Hsiung nu, their nomadic neighbours on the north. The menace became so threatening that the Emperor Wu sought to enlist foreign help against the foe. With that aim he sent in 138 B.C. a minor official, named Chang Ch'ien, as envoy to the Yueh-chih, a tribe who themselves had received many injuries from the Hsiung-nu. The plan failed, because, unbeknown to the Chinese, the Yueh-chih had migrated westwards, and, having settled in a land of plenty north of the Oxus, had lost desire for revenge. But when he returned, after twelve years, Chang Ch'ien brought back the first news of Persia, as well as of other countries, and became a national hero. In Ferghana he had seen 'horses which sweat blood and belong to the breed of *t'ien-ma*, the celestial horse.' The Emperor was seized with longing to possess some of the superior horses, no doubt chiefly because of army needs. By mounting his cavalry on horses larger and fleetier than the small Mongolian breed, which was the only kind then known in the Far East, he hoped to beat the nomads at their own tactics. From the Wu-sun, a people living near Lake Issyk-kul, he received in 115 B.C. several dozen horses

in return for gifts. Eight years later, a thousand horses arrived from the same source, on the marriage of a Chinese princess with the Wu-sun chief.

"But the Emperor, not to be put off with an inferior substitute, still coveted the blood-sweating steeds of Ferghana. His agents reported that the best to be obtained there, called after a certain 'City of Erh-shih,' were kept out of sight. Accordingly in 106 B.C. he sent a mission with 1,000 pieces of gold, and a golden model of a horse, in order to ask the King of Ferghana to satisfy his desire. The request was refused, and the envoys, in a rage, smashed the golden horse and started back home. The notables of Ferghana were also incensed at being thus treated with contumely, and so they had the envoys intercepted and killed on the frontier. A Chinese expedition of 8,000 cavalry and several hundred thousand foot was the sequel. Two years later it came back defeated and decimated. Instead of abandoning the quest of the superior horse, as some of his ministers advised, the Emperor insisted on another and larger expedition, which in 101 B.C. returned victorious, but with heavy loss. The two campaigns against Ferghana, lasting four years, cost China several hundred thousand lives and a vast expenditure of material. The gain was not merely a score or two of superior horses and a breeding stock of lesser quality. Chinese prestige had been firmly established all along the great highway to the West, and the road became free to Chinese commerce.

"Now these superior blood-sweating horses may reasonably be identified with the famous Nisæan breed of classical lore. The evidence is plentiful that the Nisæan was generally esteemed the largest and best in Western Asia,* though I cannot find mention that it was credited with sweating blood—a peculiarity sometimes attributed to the Hungarian. Nearly forty years ago Terrien de Lacouperie connected the afore-mentioned 'City of Erh-shih' with the Nisæan tradition.† Hirth follows him in a long note to his translation‡ of Chang Ch'ien's biography in Chapter CXXIII. of the 'Shih-chi,' which contains the historical data outlined above. The ancient sound of the two syllables, now pronounced in Peking as 'Erh-shih,' was probably somewhat like 'Nish.' The Greek Νῆσαι may well have been the translation of some Persian, Parthian or Soghdian proper name like 'Nish.' As Hirth remarks, the name may have come to be associated with the best in the horse-breeding world. 'Tattersall's' is perhaps a parallel. Once the name of a famous horse market in London, it is now current all over the world as a general designation for concerns to do with horses.

"The next step in the argument is to identify the home of the classic steeds with the place where the Luristan bronzes are found. Herodotus (VII, 40) located it on 'a large plain in Medic territory,' which Rawlinson recognized 'in the rich and extensive grazing grounds of Khava and Alishtar.' The latter lie in the Persian province of Luristan, and are sites of the recent bronze finds. Professor V. Minorsky discussed the subject at the Congress on Persian Art last January; and here it must suffice to state that there is a strong presumption in favour of the identification.

"The final argument for Chinese contact with Luristan bronzes is, of course, the plausible surmise that the superior horses captured in Ferghana were accompanied with the trappings peculiar to their place of origin. It is a theme which offers scope for much fuller treatment than is possible in a brief note. One illuminating fact to be stressed would be the objective evidence provided by Chinese tomb figures of superior horses at later dates. Many display the retention of Persian elements in their harness. Perhaps Han parallels may come to light; but, at all events, we see unquestionable similarities between isolated pieces from Luristan and China as here represented."—*Burlington Magazine*, August, 1931.

* W. Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*. Pp. 186 seq. Cambridge, 1906.

† *Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization*. Pp. 220, 224. London, 1894.

‡ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Vol. xxxvii. Pp. 89-152. 1917.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SOVIET ASKHABAD.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR IN TRANSCASPIA.

Translated from the "Turkomeno Vedéniyé," October, 1930.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the thirteenth anniversary of the October revolution, the Soviet national republics of Central Asia celebrate the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the territory of the former Turkistan from the last stronghold of the White Guard régime which had been established in Bokhara. On September 5, 1920, the Red Army, led by Michael Vasilivitch Frunze, entered, after stubborn fighting, into the capital of the Amir of Bokhara. On that day the red flag flew over the palace of the Amir.

Just seven months before these events the province of Transcaspia was freed from Denikin's troops of the "Volunteer Army."

The development of the counter-revolutionary power and the downfall of the Soviet rule in Transcaspia had their origin in a series of circumstances connected with the constitution of the former Czarist colony. With the existence of a petty bourgeoisie and official class, and the absence of any industrial proletariat in the provincial centre, the organization of the counter-revolutionary rising presented no great difficulty.

The first Soviets in Askhabad and the other towns of the province at first exercised no great authority. The small group of Bolsheviks had no strong backing. Two or three hundred of the town proletariat of Askhabad—labourers, mechanics, and artisans—that was all that the provincial Soviet could depend upon, all upon whose support they could count.

The great majority of the railway proletariat followed the lead of their chiefs, and only an insignificant group of the engine-house labourers sympathized with the Bolsheviks, and they showed no activity. It was only fear of action on the part of the district authorities and the Tashkent proletariat that caused the counter-revolutionary element to maintain a waiting attitude.

However, notwithstanding the unfavourable circumstances, the Soviets in Transcaspia gradually acquired more and more influence, and overcame the opposition of the former officer class and officialdom. In February, 1918, at length an end was made of dual authority, the sabotage of officialdom was broken, and the Soviets became the ruling power in the province.

The rising in Bokhara now took place. Emissaries of the Amir of Bokhara with the active assistance of refugee Russian officers made a descent upon Charjui and a Red Army detachment which had reached Kagan station from Tashkent with the district Commissar, Comrade Kopilov.

Bodies of Red Guards came to their assistance from Kizil Arvat, Askhabad, Merv, etc. As a result of their vigorous action during February and March this front was dissolved. The difficulties of supply now became serious. The drafting of Red Guard workmen to the front facilitated the development of anti-Bolshevik agitation, especially in Askhabad and Kizil Arvat. Provocative interference with the assemblies of railwaymen was not resisted as it should have been. Leaders of the Social Revolutionary Party, their nominees, and Mensheviks insinuated themselves into the Soviets. The counter-revolutionary element, encouraged by the promise of support from the English military mission in Meshed, busily prepared for action. They made as their pretext the dispositions made by the district authorities for taking a census of the male population capable of bearing arms.

In compliance with instructions from Tashkent the military Commissar of the province, Comrade Kopilov, divided the town into four areas, and fixed points of assembly for the census.

On June 16 the inhabitants were warned that registration would commence on the morning of the 17th.

The Social Revolutionary Party and Mensheviks thought this moment favourable—they could take advantage of the census as a means for agitation against the Bolsheviks, accusing them of effecting a general mobilization.

On the morning of the 17th the counter-revolutionaries posted their agents at the points fixed by the military Commissar to direct all who came to a meeting in the town garden, where they said the purpose of the census would be explained. The meeting was a surprise for the Bolsheviks. A large crowd gathered, but nobody opened the proceedings. The people became restless, and began to murmur. Having thus prepared the soil, the counter-revolutionaries proceeded to carry out their provocative plan. Accusing the Bolsheviks of having summoned the meeting and then not appearing themselves, the traitors began to deliver inflammatory speeches. At ten o'clock the Social Revolutionary Sharagin mounted the platform. He declared that the Soviet authorities were working up a war, called upon the workmen to resist the census, and to resolutely oppose the attempt to carry out mobilization. After Sharagin representatives of the officer class and of the priesthood came forward. They, too, uttered virulent abuse of the Soviet authority, predicting its early downfall. The entry of the Bolsheviks was met with hisses. Shouts were raised: "Down with the Bolsheviks! Down with the German spies!"

At the end of the meeting they allowed Kopilov, the War Commissar, to mount the tribune. He read out a telegram received from Tashkent, and proceeded to explain the object of the census. However, they would not let him say any more. Incited by the counter-revolutionary element, the crowd became violent. Cries were heard of "Beat him! Down with him!"

They dragged Comrade Kopilov down from the tribune and began to hammer him. With great difficulty he was rescued from the hands of the crowd and enabled to conceal himself.

The commander of the garrison, Comrade Asanov, now appeared in the garden with two Red Army mounted men. With shouts that Asanov had come to shoot those present at the meeting, Social revolutionary agents rushed at him. Asanov was compelled to fire a few shots in the air. This somewhat cooled the tumultuous mob. The meeting broke up. Some of the workmen, instigated by the Social Revolutionists, went to the depot for arms. Alarmingly sounds were soon heard in the depot.

A group of the town workmen, numbering fifty, having armed themselves, came to the help of the revolutionary committee in the house of the "Revolutionary Proletariat" (now the Red Army House). In the railway quarter were about 2,000 rifles, machine-guns, and several boxes of ammunition.

On the demand of the crowd which collected the magazine was opened, and the arms were quickly distributed. Firing began. In the evening the Social Revolutionaries made an attack upon the town, but there was no one to oppose them. The Red Guard were in their barracks. Then the traitors took to their usual method—provocation. Firing was directed upon the workmen. Assistant engine-driver Kirsanov was killed by their bullets, and several workmen were wounded.

Not content with their local forces, the Social Revolutionaries summoned their partisans from Kizil Arvat. On the same day two troop trains with two guns and a machine-gun left Kizil Arvat, under command of Social Revolu-

tionary Zugatov. Simultaneously with this movement a train left Krasnovodsk with workmen for the defence of the Soviets, and it picked up on the way the Bolsheviks of Jebel and Kazanjik.

The Kizil Arvat Bolsheviks also started with Comrade Dianov at their head. Their trains stopped at Bezmain. A demand upon the Social Revolutionaries to surrender their arms was telephoned to Askhabad.

The workmen of Kushk fortress sent an armoured train to the support of the revolutionary committee. This train was shunted on to a siding by the Mensheviks at Merv, and only the Kushk delegation succeeded in reaching Askhabad.

On the arrival of the trains and of the workmen's deputation, June 18, a stormy meeting was held at the railway station. A small number of the Bolsheviks of the revolutionary committee were present. The Bolshevik comrades Telluja, Molibojko and others succeeded in persuading the workmen to seek a solution of the situation by peaceful means. A commission was appointed to allay the conflict. On the insistence of the Social Revolutionaries the elections for the new Soviet had to be carried out by universal, direct and secret voting.

But the supreme Commissar Frolov, who had come in haste from Tashkent, changed the arrangements that had been made for the elections, and explained to the workmen the meaning of the Soviet authority and who ought to be in power. It was decided to form a Soviet of Communists, left wing Social Revolutionaries and sympathizers of these parties. Notwithstanding this, at the time of the elections a majority of right wing Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were returned for the Soviet. They stood as sympathizers with the party of the left wing Social Revolutionaries. The counter-revolutionary party were not napping, they prepared for a decisive blow.

The activities of Commissar Frolov, who was not noted for patience and was given to misuse of spirituous liquors, afforded the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks a trump card in their provocative game, and hastened the events that were maturing. Misled by the outward quiet, Frolov judged that the situation in Askhabad was stable. He placed great reliance upon the Armenian militia as one of the most powerful units of the Red Guards.

Further developments compelled Frolov to go to Kizil Arvat with his corps. The counter revolutionaries took advantage of this. On Frolov's departure Askhabad was left defenceless.

The Soviet only had a mere handful of Red Guards at their disposal. The Armenian militia on which Frolov relied went over to the Whites, a treacherous blow in the back of the Red Guards.

The Red Guards put up a stubborn resistance. After a three days' fight Askhabad fell into the hands of the Whites on July 14. The defenders of the Soviet régime were part killed and part taken prisoners.

Two trainloads of White Guards were sent to Kizil Arvat and annihilated Frolov's detachment, killing more than 170 Red Guards and workmen. On their way they wiped out a small detachment under Comrade Dimitriev, Commissar for Health, which had been posted at Bezmain to stop trains going to Kizil Arvat.

The White terror spread to other towns of the province. They took prisoners wholesale. All the most active Soviet workers were captured. Men were thrown into prison on the least suspicion of sympathy with the Soviet rule. Systematic police search was instituted by the Social Revolutionaries.

Executions began to be carried out. The first victims were those of the Commissars of the province who remained alive and were captured after street

fighting—namely, Comrades Telluja, Jitnikov, Botminov, Rozanov, Mali-boshko, Petrosov; and the head workmen, Bolsheviks, arrested when passing through by rail—namely, Comrades Kolostov, Smedejni, and Khrenov.

Comrades Poltaratzki and Kalinichenko were shot at Merv. Workmen were shot at Kazanjik, Kizil Arvat, and other towns.

The wave of the White Guards, intoxicated with victory, rolled as far as Charjui, but then suffered a decisive repulse and was hurled back.

The intoxication, too, quickly passed away. The workmen soon began to leave their traitor leaders. In order to maintain their position the Social Revolutionaries had to seek external aid. It was not long in coming.

In the middle of August, not long after the reverse, a force of Scottish troops [*sic*], Sepoys, and Artillery arrived. Funtikov's Government became obedient servants of the English. By their orders there took place on September 20 the most hideous massacre in history—they shot twenty-six Baku Commissars.*

In the end the English turned out the Social Revolutionary Government, thinking it necessary to replace it by a stronger rule. The English formed a committee of public safety from their adherents.

On the departure of the English troops in the spring of 1919, the province came under the orders of Denikin's Generals. Thus the Social Revolutionary party departed from their favourite watchword "for non-party Soviets" to the length of submitting to the rule of Czarist Generals. However, the days of the bloody administration of the White Guard régime were numbered. The heroic troops of the Red Army, with the aid of the workers far and wide, advanced westwards, step by step capturing towns and villages deluged with the blood of the workers who had succumbed to the tyranny of the Social Revolutionaries. The demoralized White troops retreated to the sea, and by February 6, 1920, the province was cleared of White Guard rule.

The liberated Transcaspian province presented the picture of a ruined country, plundered to the last thread by the White bandits.

Heroic efforts, great enthusiasm, and intense exertion of the creative strength of the proletariat and the labouring peasantry were needed to establish the authority of the Soviets, and to renew the ruined economic system.

Under the leadership of the Communist party, with the continuous untiring help of the S.S.S.R., the builders of Socialist Soviet Turkmenia have accomplished the task with honour.

EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART.

A SPECIAL temporary exhibition of Indian art will be held in the Prints and Drawings Gallery of the British Museum this autumn. It will consist chiefly of miniatures of the Hindu and Mogul schools, including recent acquisitions and of some large coloured copies from the frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh; but other departments will contribute, and a choice of fine sculptures and of MSS. will be shown. The exhibition will open towards the middle of October.

* This accusation has no foundation of truth whatever. The facts of this much-discussed story are that when the Baku Commissars were arrested by the provisional Government in Askhabad, General Malleson, then in Meshed, hearing of their arrest, sent instructions that they should be handed over to him to be kept as hostages. Instead of complying, the Askhabad Government delivered them to an official of their own, who took them into the desert by train and there had them executed. The Bolsheviks built up the slander and repeat it whenever possible.

LONDON SCHOOL OF HYGIENE AND TROPICAL MEDICINE

(*University of London*).

THE next series of eight lectures and demonstrations on tropical hygiene, which are intended for men and women outside the medical profession proceeding to the Tropics, will be given by Lieut.-Colonel G. E. F. Stammers, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., from October 21 to 30 next.

These courses of instruction, in addition to providing simple rules for guidance in regard to preparation for life in the Tropics and personal hygiene, will also embrace a short account of some of the more common diseases, with advice in regard to measures of protection against such diseases, and some guidance in simple methods of self-treatment.

The synopsis and other particulars can be obtained from the Secretary, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Keppel Street, Gower Street, W.C. 1.

THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

THE Eighteenth Congress of Orientalists was held in Leyden in September. It is needless to dwell on the great value of these meetings when Orientalists from all parts of the world meet. The papers reached a very high level, and included not only those of interest to pundits, but others of more general interest, and such modern subjects as "Modern Arabic Literature" were not excluded. The arrangements were excellent, and the committee are to be congratulated on the great success of the week.

"INFORMATIONS MUSULMANES."

WE welcome the appearance of *Informations Musulmanes*, which, as its title shows, devotes itself "to giving clear and accurate information to those who are interested in Moslem questions." The editors, who include a well-known Russian official, whose career lay entirely in Persia and Central Asia, write: "The Orient as a whole, and particularly the Moslem part of it, is called upon to play one of the most important rôles in this crisis, as a prime factor in international politics. The wealth of these Moslem countries, the character of their populations, their species of mentality, make them deserving of a profound study."

The first number, which includes a detailed list of the distribution of Moslems, who are computed to reach the important total of 250 millions, is in English. The second number is in French, and gives full summaries of each Moslem country in alphabetical order, quoting the sources in most cases, and showing an intimate knowledge of the countries, which is none too common in such publications.

To conclude, I would recommend students of the Moslem world to read *Informations Musulmanes*, which will also be invaluable for reference.

P. M. SYKES.

THE IRAQ TREATY, 1930.

By S. G. VESEY-FITZGERALD.

(Read before the Grotius Society on April 23, 1931, and reprinted by kind permission of the Society.)

ON June 30, 1930, a treaty was signed between plenipotentiaries for the King-Emperor and the King of Iraq. This treaty, as we are informed by a note on its title-page,* has not been ratified by His Majesty. But, following on the signature of the treaty, congratulatory telegrams were exchanged between King George and King Faisal which will certainly be interpreted in the East as tantamount to ratification, and the treaty is widely regarded as being in force. It is remarkable for three things: (a) Its doctrinaire insistence on the unfettered sovereignty of Iraq; (b) its silence on the protection of minorities; and (c) its silence on the justiciability of foreigners by the Iraqi Courts. Islam is the legally established religion of Iraq; and the two latter questions, so far at least as they concern non-Moslems, are, in terms of Muhammadan law, the questions of the position of *dhimmi*s and *mustamini*s. It is not proposed in this paper to deal with the theory of sovereignty nor with the position of foreigners, except so far as they shed light on the principal question, the protection of minorities; nor shall we concern ourselves with the Moslem minorities beyond noting that their position in Iraq gives rise to very grave anxiety in the minds of observers who certainly cannot be accused of any lack of sympathy with the Arab ideals.†

The non-Moslem minorities of Iraq consist of a small but wealthy, influential, and ancient Jewish community seated principally in Baghdad, and the Christian communities, numbering some 270,000 souls, of the northern frontier of the Mosul province, with whom for political purposes we may include their neighbours, the Sabæans, and the Yezidis or devil worshippers. The Jews have always shown an ample capacity to look after themselves under Moslem rule. The real questions are, therefore, whether protection is desirable or feasible for the Christians, and what are the respective responsibilities of Great Britain and of the League of Nations in the matter. Let us remark in passing that these Christians are in close proximity to the Kurds, who, though themselves a minority with grievances against the Arab Government, have in the past been a ready instrument of Turkish "frightfulness."

* Cmd. 3627 of 1930.

† See particularly letter from Sir Arnold Wilson headed "Peace in Iraq—the Protection of Minorities," in *The Times*, May 22, 1931; see also Bertram Thomas, "Alarms and Excursions," *passim*. The Moslem population is divided between nomad, agriculturist, and townsman; Hanafi, Shafi, and Shia; Arab, Persian, Kurd, and a few Turks. And, except so far as the terms Shafi and Kurd are locally almost interchangeable, no one of these methods of division agrees with any other. Much of Sir A. Wilson's letter applies with even greater force to the non-Moslem minorities. This letter and Sir A. Wilson's book "Mesopotamia, 1917-1920," both published since this essay was read to the Society, show that very great authority may be cited in support of some, at least, of its conclusions. That the Government would be outnumbered if all the minorities were to unite is immaterial, since they are most unlikely to do so.

I

First, the question of sovereignty. The preamble of the treaty speaks of the relations between their two Majesties as being already those of "independent sovereigns," and of a treaty between them on terms of "complete freedom, equality and independence." These phrases may raise a smile on the face of the modern political theorist who is apt to regard sovereignty as an outworn dogma; but they are the culmination of a real diplomatic victory for the astute politicians of Baghdad who have always shown themselves adepts at reaping the fullest possible advantage from the British connection at the same time that they have held themselves free to agitate against that connection. Such phrases contain in themselves the seeds of future trouble. They are out of place in describing the relations between Iraq and the British Empire, not because of any disparity in size and power, but because Iraq is an artificial creation of British policy which but for the continued support of Great Britain would fall to pieces tomorrow. It is the not altogether appropriate bottle into which, after failures in Syria and the Hajjaz, we have decanted the wine of that particular brand of Arab nationalism known as Shareefian. Unfortunately, there were other spirits in the bottle already, some of them fiery: and there are thirsty neighbours looking on. Can we continue to be responsible for the existence of Iraq—for that is what the proposed offensive and defensive alliance really means—and be indifferent to the justice of its internal administration?

I have heard an eminent international lawyer assert that this treaty sets up a virtual protectorate over Iraq: by which, I suppose, he meant to answer in the negative the question which I have just asked. There is much to be said for this view. No Iraqi Government could afford to ignore our advice and run the risk of our denouncing the alliance. But, if such is the intention, then, although the terms of the treaty may be a pleasing tribute to Arab vanity, it violates the first and most vital rule in all dealings with Oriental peoples (and, one would have thought, in all honest diplomacy and legal draftsmanship whatever)—namely, never to kindle false hopes or to leave the other side in a moment's doubt as to your real intentions.

But the official defence of the treaty does not run on these lines. It appears to be the contention of His Majesty's Government (or, at least, of its defenders), first, that the treaty only comes into force on the admission of Iraq to the League of Nations; secondly, that on that event we shall have ceased to be in any way responsible to the League of Nations, thirdly, that in a treaty between two independent States all restrictions on internal sovereignty, such as are implied, for instance, in safeguards for minorities, would be out of place.

We shall cease to be responsible to the League of Nations. But shall we cease to be responsible to our own consciences? If we do not take our responsibility more seriously than this, we may be perfectly certain that the League will not, and indeed cannot, do so. As for the contention that the treaty does not come into force till Iraq is admitted to the League, we are pledged by the preamble of the treaty "without qualification or proviso" to do our utmost to secure her admission. *Quod faciendum est, pro jam facto habetur.* It does not lie in our mouths to move the League to insert the safeguards on which we have failed to insist. The words "without qualification or proviso" refer grammatically to the information communicated to the Iraqi Government, but they will be taken to mean (and it is obviously intended that they should be so taken) that the British Government will raise no quali-

fication or proviso to the admission of Iraq to the League. If provisos are attached to that admission or if it is delayed, we shall be accused by our enemies in Iraq of breach of faith. If we really support the admission of Iraq to the League, is it likely that any other member of the League will oppose us? Why should they? And, indeed, how can they? The utmost to be expected is that some of them, and perhaps also the U.S.A., may be perturbed about the justiciability of their citizens by Iraqi courts and may press for extraterritorial privileges by the revival of the Capitulations which have, it is understood, been suspended, not abrogated, during the period of British control. And one can only hope that anxiety for their own nationals may indirectly benefit the Christian minorities.

Nor can the third contention of the defenders of the treaty be regarded as better founded. There are numerous precedents for the inclusion in treaties of conditions derogating from internal sovereignty, particularly where, as in the present instance, sovereignty is in effect being transferred from one Government to another. An apposite instance from our own history is the Treaty of Paris, 1763, with its provisions protecting the laws, privileges, and religious liberty of the French Canadians. We are handing over the Assyrian Christians to a Moslem Government, just as France handed over her Roman Catholic colonists to us. Is there anything derogatory to the dignity of the recipient of our bounty if we ask him to furnish guarantees such as we ourselves with a far stronger claim as conquerors were ready to furnish?

The parallel with Canada may seem at first sight far-fetched, but it is not so. Not only did we create Iraq; we are directly responsible for subordinating the Christians to its Government. The report of the League of Nations Commission, 1925, shows that the grant of the Mosul *vilayat* to Iraq rather than to Turkey was inseparably bound up with a recommendation that the mandatory régime should continue in force for about twenty-five years. Had the question been merely between Turkish and Iraqi allegiance without the deciding factor of British control, Turkey rather than Iraq would apparently have been the choice. With true Ottoman finesse, the diplomatists of Baghdad had previously got rid of the word "mandate" in the official description of the relations between Iraq, Great Britain, and the League.* There is no mandate for Iraq. If we withdraw British control, we are in effect handing over these people to a Government quite different from that of their choice; and the fact that we have already to a great extent deserted our obligations does not make the breach of faith any smaller. Moreover, as regards one of these smaller Christian communities, the Assyrians, the case is even stronger. General Laidoner reported to the League in favour of the inclusion of the Assyrian Highlands, their home, with the rest of the Mosul *vilayat*, in Iraq. That his recommendation was not accepted was due merely to successful violence on the part of Turkey. Correctly gauging the impotence of international control, the Turks drove the Assyrians out by force, even while the Laidoner Commission was sitting, and presented the League with an accomplished fact. The treatment of the Assyrians was that of the Armenians on previous occasions. The spirit of Abul Hamid is not yet completely exorcised from his successors: and, as in the time of Abdul Hamid so now, the Turks would not have dared to act as they did had they been confronted with a

* The effect of this is to make it appear as if the sovereignty of the Iraqi State had always been unfettered. Thus the "fundamental law" proceeds from no authority but the Iraq Parliament, which might repeal it without any outside body having a legal say.

single first-class Power. For the homelessness of the Assyrians, for the fact that they are cast upon Iraq as refugees, we in particular and the League in general are responsible, a responsibility we have so far shirked. It is up to us to do something about it, even as was done for the Greek refugees. Let us assume, as has been suggested in the defence put forward for the treaty, that the Minorities Protection Committee have grossly overstated their case; that their "highly-coloured and alarmist reports" are "for the most part utterly devoid of foundation and in other instances so distorted and exaggerated as to be entirely misleading." Let us assume that the present insecurity of life and property in Northern Mosul is no worse than is to be expected in a newly demarcated borderland. This may be an answer to the Committee, but it is no answer to the facts of the case. To denounce the Iraq Treaty now might perhaps be a breach of faith with our allies the Shareefian nationalists: but to have signed the treaty at all, or to observe it, was, and is, a breach of faith both with the League of Nations and with our equally loyal allies, the Assyrian Christians.

II

"What need have we," some will say, "for protection of minorities?" Is Islam a great bully who must be kept in order or a genial protector from whom peaceful subjects can have nothing to fear? Those members who recollect Syed Ameer Ali's address to this Society in 1919 and have received the recent publications of the Iraq Minorities Rescue Committee may find some difficulty in reconciling the two views. Yet there is substance in both views.

Islam has in the past a proud record of toleration, a record which, though disfigured with blots, compares favourably with that of any European nation. Toleration, moreover, is founded upon divine ordinance in the Qoran; and it might well seem that special safeguards are superfluous. Unfortunately, however, this very fact stands in the way of justice; for the corollary of toleration is subjection.* The relation between Moslem and non-Moslem which the Caliph Omar created and Muhammadan lawyers expound, is one of shepherd and sheep, not primarily in the sense which the Gospels have taught us to attach to that allegory, but in the commercial sense of one who pastures and protects his sheep as a good investment for his own benefit. Tributaries should be maintained, as Ali is reported to have advised Omar, for the common benefit of Moslems.† Moreover, though it is true that Moslem Courts will normally endeavour to do justice evenly between Moslem and non-Moslem, they do so subject to the handicap that the Moslem is regarded as *ipso facto* more reliable than the non-Moslem, and consequently neither the latter's evidence nor his oath can be accepted in opposition to the Moslem.‡ "A judge," says the Minhaj,§ "should treat the parties who appear before him in an impartial manner. . . . But where one of the parties is a Moslem and the other an infidel subject, he is permitted to show more respect to the former than to the latter." Again, the description of the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb as an intolerant bigot is unfair, as the names of Hindu princes in high military command under him testify. But he did believe in the dominance of Islam as a privileged community, and he took steps to enforce it.

* "Kitab-al-Kharaj of Abu Yusuf," Fagnan's trans., pp. 59 and 61.

† *Ibid.*, p. 57.

‡ This is no longer the law of the Nizamia, or secular Courts, but it is the sacred law and is revered as such.

§ Howard's trans., p. 506. This is, of course, a Shafii authority.

This is the Muhammadan spirit of toleration, excellent by the standards of the Middle Ages or even of the eighteenth century, but somewhat old-fashioned at the present day.* It is true that, in the course of the gallant attempt to reform Turkey from within which began in 1839 and lasted till the accession of Abdul Hamid, these invidious distinctions of evidence were abolished, at any rate for the secular Courts which were then created; and the equality of all subjects before the law was proclaimed. But he would be a bold man who should reckon on the old spirit of domination being extinct, particularly in such out-of-the-way places as the Mosul *vilayat*.

And even for the toleration enjoined by the law there is no efficient safeguard. It has always been the weakness of Islam that its governors and its lawyers have been two separate classes.† So, though a great man like the Mufti al Jamali might stand undaunted even before Selim the Grim in defence of his non-Moslem subjects, yet when a strong ruler such as Abdul Hamid has chosen to defy the law there has normally been no means of bringing him to book, while in the time of a weak ruler, such as, for instance, the *fainfant* sultans who preceded Selim III., there has been no check on the irreligious oppression of a multitude of petty local tyrants—captains of janissaries or lords of the valleys or grasping pashas. King Faisal is an honourable and chivalrous man; so also were Sultans Abdul Majid and Abdul Aziz. The Baghdad intelligentsia is believed to include men who genuinely believe in freedom and progress and all the most liberal ideals of the West; so also did the Committee of Union and Progress, and so also does the Government of Mustapha Kamal Pasha Ghazi. Yet Abdul Aziz was succeeded by Abdul Hamid, who massacred and maltreated his Bulgarian and Armenian subjects, and the same policy was carried on by both the Republican Governments which succeeded him. Are we sure that history may not take the same course in Mosul? or (what is perhaps more likely) that the minorities will not be neglected in order that the revenues may be spent in Baghdad? Is there any reason to suppose that the Iraqi, left to his own devices, is going to be any better than the Turk, from whom, rather than from ourselves, he learned such statecraft as he possesses?

At the end of the eighteenth century "it is only fair to remember that the tolerance of the Turks set an example to Europe which was sorely needed." The Christian was allowed a "greater measure of liberty than that enjoyed by dissidents in any other country in Europe. Catholics in Ireland and Protestants in Austria might envy him his privileges. He was free to exercise his religion, to educate himself as he pleased, to accumulate wealth; however humble his origin, in a system which accounted nothing of birth, he could hold high office in the Government";‡ and in 1829 Russian officers fighting on behalf of the subject peoples of Turkey noted that the economic position of these peoples was better than that of the Russian peasantry, or (we may add) than that of the peasantry in many other parts of Europe. How does it come about that the very century which saw the last of their legal disabilities removed by the gallant efforts of the reforming party saw also such a marked

* See also "The Caliphs and their Non-Muslim Subjects" and article in *J.R.A.S.*, 1931, p. 311, both by A. S. Tritton.

† So, by one of the *ex post facto* hadiths, the Prophet is reported to have said that the happiness of his people depended on two classes—the *omruh* (rulers) and the *fugaha* (prudentes).

‡ Camb. Mod. Hist., x. 170, 172; Lipson, "Europe in the Nineteenth Century," p. 185.

falling off in their real security? The answer can be given very shortly: the spirit of nationalism. Moslem did not persecute non-Moslem. Turkish rulers, frightened by national strivings for independence, strove to coerce or, failing that, to exterminate the infant nationalities which they foresaw would slip from their grasp and, they feared, bring down their power. Except in the case of the Armenians, atrocities were by no means all on one side. But nationalism on one side called forth an answering and vindictive nationalism on the other. It is too late in the day to lament this; and in any case we believe that, for all its evils, the nationalist spirit is on the whole a good thing. But, in view of the history of the last sixty years, can we regard with equanimity the establishment of the youngest (which is at the same time the oldest)* of Moslem nationalities, the Arab, in a position to dominate other races and peoples? We admire the historic chivalry of Islam, and count many friends among both old-fashioned and modernist Moslems at the present day, but we must add to all the above a further note of warning. Among the Westernizing influences in Islam are to be reckoned not only admirers of Nansen and Gilbert Murray, but also admirers of Nietzsche and the doctrine of the ruthless superman.

III

But there is yet another lesson to be learned from the Turkish history of the nineteenth century—namely, the futility of ill-advised expressions of sympathy and the utter futility of divided international councils. Probably few students of European history, of whatever political complexion, look back upon either the Treaty of Paris, 1856, or that of Berlin, 1880, with anything but feelings of shame. The wording of these treaties was widely different; their effect was the same, as the Bulgarians understood in 1875 and the Armenians in 1898, 1910, and 1913. The Treaty of Berlin contained paper safeguards for minorities which, it is admitted, were much worse than useless; they merely excited the suspicious Abdul Hamid to the more active persecution of those whom he regarded as the friends of his enemies. But to those who warn us of the futility of intervention, we reply that the real futility lies in leaving to the polite phraseology of an international body duties which we ought to discharge for ourselves. With its admission of Turkey to participate in the public law of Europe, with its express repudiation of the right to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey, with its unequivocal guarantee of independence and territorial integrity, the Treaty of Paris, 1856, is the obvious ancestor of the present treaty. It is not an ancestor to be proud of.

What then can we do? To interfere is futile, not to interfere is equally so. But admission to the League of Nations is no more the vital issue today than was admission to the public law of Europe in 1856. The real question is not of interference with an existing state of affairs, but of an originating grant, and it lies between Great Britain and Iraq. Even for those who derive their political philosophy from Rousseau, it is not merely a question of the Arab's right to govern himself, but of his capacity to govern others. We are, in effect, making a present of the sovereignty which, though we have shrunk from saying so, is a duty imposed upon us by the accident of conquest. Let

* Islam, as already noticed, is supranational. But the word in the Quran commonly translated nation, *ummat*, is used ambiguously of Islam as a whole or of the Arab race. The Arab is accordingly apt to suppose that the pre-eminence which the Book of God accords to the Faithful is doubly his own by divine command and right of birth.

this misconceived treaty be revised; and let the Iraqi be told quite plainly that we will recognize and protect his independence only when he puts his minorities in a position to fend for themselves without outside interference. In our homely English proverb, he must "do as he would be done by." Let the League of Nations, if it need be dragged into the matter at all, be called upon to arrange a loan for the proper settlement of the Assyrian refugees, even as it has so successfully done in the case of the Greek refugees; let the settlement be carried out (this is vital) under British supervision; but if, as is understood, the French are willing to settle large numbers of these people in Syria, by all means let them do so. For what should follow, there are fortunately excellent precedents such as even an Arab may listen to without loss of prestige. Muhammad the Conqueror, at the zenith of his power after the fall of Constantinople, translated the tolerance of Islam towards its subjects into the *millat* system, by which those subjects were given large powers of self-government. The *millats* were not territorial; that was impossible, if only because their members were too widely scattered. But the Turkish Government did recognize territorial self-government of subject races in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Chios; and we ourselves, in addition to the Canadian precedent, have recently created a local government for a minority which has a compact territory in North-East Ulster. Let Northern Mosul be created a territorial *millat*,* a State within a State, with its own rights of defence, justice, education, and so forth, and its own revenues, subject to definite duties to the central authority. Such an autonomous community would be a source of strength to Iraq just where strength is most needed, and where any other solution of the problem would be a source of weakness—viz., on the Turkish frontier. And if this led other minorities—the Kurds, for example—to demand similar treatment, then one may remind the Arabs of the Eastern fable, familiar to them, of the dying peasant who invited his sons to break a bundle of sticks. A federation of self-interest is much stronger than a purely centralized Government of discordant minorities.

* Since this paper was read, the signature of the Iraq Oil Convention has added a new and hopeful element to the situation; for it has given a big international business corporation a direct interest in seeing that a potential source of recruitment of its labour force is kept contented. A considerable part of the revenue of the proposed Northern Mosul sub-State might well come from the annual rental paid by the Corporation.

On July 24, when the paper was already in print, a debate on the treaty took place in the House of Commons, a debate chiefly remarkable for the difficulty which even widely-travelled Englishmen have in appreciating how great is the step from toleration to equality not merely of legal status, but of opportunity and treatment. The distinction is vital in all cases where some deep line of cleavage—as, e.g., religion—renders the fusion of majority and minority remote.



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EXPENDITURE.				RECEIPTS.			
To Office Expenses:				By Subscriptions			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Salaries	296	3 4	1,301 Subscriptions	...	1,305	5 0
Rent ...	...	160	0 0	Less: Estimated value of outstanding sub-	...	...	...
Telephone ...	...	12	2 4	scriptions at January 1, 1930	...	20	0 0
Stationery ...	...	23	5 8			1,285	5 0
Printing ...	...	49	12 9	" Dinner Club	...	25	0 0
Postage ...	...	69	6 10	Contribution to expenses	...	169	0 0
Office cleaning, etc	...	35	19 0	" Annual Dinner	...	...	...
Insurance ...	...	0	5 4	Journal:	...	33	18 0
Audit Fee ...	...	10	10 0	Subscriptions	...	10	18 1
Bank charges ...	...	7	0 8	Sales	...	...	...
Gas ...	...	16	4 3	" Interest Received	...	5	0 0
Sundries ...	...	6	17 4	War Loan interest	...	8	3 7
		687	7 6	Abbey Road Building Society	...	3	7 2
" Journal		509	19 5	Bank deposit	...	...	...
Printing	...	56	3 6	" Excess of Expenditure over Income	...	16	10 9
Postage	...	9	19 6			98	12 5
Maps (Books)	...	33	1 11				
Reporting, etc.	...						
		609	4 4				
" Lectures:		39	5 0				
Lecture Halls	...	33	12 1				
Lecture Fees and Council	...	16	2 0				
Lecture expenses	...	19	6 0				
Lantern	...	16	17 8				
Lantern slides	...	6	11 2				
Maps	...	136	13 11				
		187	8 9				
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